HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

ARTHUR BRISBANE

VOLUME II

PART I

FROM THE SECOND LONDON EDITION

TO WHICH IS ADDED AN

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LIST OF AUTHORS QUOTED.

In order to assist those who wish to verify my references, and also with a view of indicating the nature and extent of the materials which I have used, I have drawn up the following list of the principal works quoted in the present volume. When no edition is mentioned, the size is 8vo *et infra*. When the name of the author is enclosed between brackets, the book is anonymous; but in such cases, I have usually subjoined some authority who gives evidence of the authorship.

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HISTORY

OF

CIVILIZATION IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH INTELLECT FROM THE FIFTH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

In the preceding volume, I have endeavoured to establish four leading propositions, which, according to my view, are to be deemed the basis of the history of civilization. They are: 1st, That the progress of mankind depends on the success with which the laws of phenomena are investigated, and on the extent to which a knowledge of those laws is diffused. 2d, That before such investigation can begin, a spirit of scepticism must arise, which, at first aiding the investigation, is afterwards aided by it. 3d, That the discoveries thus made, increase the influence of intellectual truths, and diminish, relatively, not absolutely, the influence of moral truths; moral truths being more stationary than intellectual truths, and receiving fewer additions. 4th, That the great enemy of this movement, and therefore the great enemy of civilization, is the protective spirit; by which I mean the notion that society cannot prosper, unless the affairs of life are watched over and protected at nearly every turn by the state and the church; the state teaching men what they are to do, and the church teaching them what they are to believe. Such are the propositions which I hold to be the most essential for a right understanding of history, and which I have defended in the only two ways any proposition can be defended; namely, inductively and deductively. The inductive defence comprises a collection of historical and scientific facts, which suggest and authorize the conclu-

sions drawn from them; while the deductive defence consists of a verification of those conclusions, by showing how they explain the history of different countries and their various fortunes. To the former, or inductive method of defence, I am at present unable to add any thing new; but the deductive defence I hope to strengthen considerably in this volume, and by its aid confirm not only the four cardinal propositions just stated, but also several minor propositions, which, though strictly speaking flowing from them, will require separate verification. According to the plan already sketched, the remaining part of the Introduction will contain an examination of the history of Spain, of Scotland, of Germany, and of the United States of America, with the object of elucidating principles on which the history of England supplies inadequate information. And as Spain is the country where what I conceive to be the fundamental conditions of national improvement have been most flagrantly violated, so also shall we find that it is the country where the penalty paid for the violation has been most heavy, and where, therefore, it is most instructive to ascertain how the prevalence of certain opinions causes the decay of the people among whom they predominate.

We have seen that the old tropical civilizations were accompanied by remarkable features which I have termed Aspects of Nature, and which, by inflaming the imagination, encouraged superstition, and prevented men from daring to analyze such threatening physical phenomena; in other words, prevented the creation of the physical sciences. Now, it is an interesting fact that, in these respects, no European country is so analogous to the tropics as Spain. No other part of Europe is so clearly designated by nature as the seat and refuge of superstition. Recurring to what has been already proved,[1] it will be remembered that among the most important physical causes of superstition are famines, epidemics, earthquakes, and that general unhealthiness of climate, which, by shortening the average duration of life, increases the frequency and earnestness with which supernatural aid is invoked. These peculiarities, taken together, are more prominent in Spain than any where else in Europe; it will therefore be useful to give such a summary of them as will exhibit the mischievous effects they have produced in shaping the national character.

If we except the northern extremity of Spain, we may say that the two principal characteristics of the climate are heat and dryness, both of which are favoured by the extreme diffi-

[1] In the second chapter of the first volume of *Buckle's History of Civilization*.

culty which nature has interposed in regard to irrigation. For, the rivers which intersect the land, run mostly in beds too deep to be made available for watering the soil, which consequently is, and always has been, remarkably arid.[2] Owing to this, and to the infrequency of rain, there is no European country as richly endowed in other respects, where droughts and therefore famines have been so frequent and serious.[3] At the same time the vicissitudes of climate, particularly in the central parts, make Spain habitually unhealthy; and this general tendency being strengthened in the middle ages by the constant occurrence of famine, caused the ravages of pestilence to be unusually fatal.[4] When we moreover add that in the Peninsula, including Portugal, earthquakes have been extremely disastrous,[5] and have excited all those superstitious feelings which

[2] "The low state of agriculture in Spain may be ascribed partly to physical and partly to moral causes. At the head of the former must be placed the heat of the climate and the aridity of the soil. Most part of the rivers with which the country is intersected run in deep beds, and are but little available, except in a few favoured localities, for purposes of irrigation." *M'Culloch's Geographical and Statistical Dictionary*, London, 1849, vol. ii. p. 708. See also *Laborde's Spain*, London, 1809, vol. iv. p. 284, vol. v. p. 261. The relative aridity of the different parts is stated in *Cook's Spain*, London, 1834, vol. ii. pp. 216–219.

[3] On these droughts and famines, see *Mariana, Historia de España*, Madrid, 1794, vol. ii. p. 270, vol. iii. p. 225, vol. iv. p. 32. *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, Paris, 1840, pp. 142, 149, 154, 170. *Davila, Historia de la Vida de Felipe Tercero*, Madrid, 1771, folio, lib. ii. p. 114. *Clarke's Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, London, 1763, 4to, p. 282. *Udal ap Rhys' Tour through Spain*, London, 1760, pp. 292, 293. *Spain by an American*, London, 1831, vol. ii. p. 282. *Hoskins' Spain*, London, 1851, vol. i. pp. 127, 132, 152. "España es castigada frecuentemente con las sequedades y faltas de lluvias." *Muriel, Gobierno de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1839, p. 193.

[4] "Añádase á todo esto las repetidas pestes, y mortales epidemias que han afligido á las provincias de España, mayormente á las meridionales que han sido las mas sujetas á estas plagas. De estas se hace mencion en los anales é historias muy freqüentemente; y en su confirmacion se puede leer el tratado histórico, ó *epidemiológia* que sobre ellas ha publicado Don Joachîn de Villalba, donde se verá con dolor y espanto con quanta freqüencia se repetian estos azotes desde mediados del siglo décimoquarto." . . . "Dos exemplos bien recientes y dolorosos hemos visto, y conservaremos en la memoria, en los formidables estragos que acaban de padecer gran parte del reyno de Sevilla, Cádiz, y sus contornos, Málaga, Cartagena, y Alicante; sin contar la mortandad con que han afligido á la mayor parte de los pueblos de ámbas Castillas las epidemias de calenturas pútridas en el año pasado de 1805." . . . "Por otra parte la fundacion de tantas capillas y procesiones á San Roque, y á San Sebastian, como abogados contre la peste, que todavía se conservan en la mayor parte de nuestras ciudades de España, son otro testimonio de los grandes y repetidos estragos que habian padecido sus pueblos de este azote. Y el gran número de médicos españoles que publicáron tratados preservativos y curativos de la peste en los reynados de Cárlos V., Felipe II., Felipe III., y Felipe IV., confirman mas la verdad de los hechos." *Capmany, Qüestiones Criticas*, Madrid, 1807, pp. 51, 52; see also pp. 66, 67; and *Janer, Condicion Social de los Moriscos de España*, Madrid, 1857, pp. 106, 107; and the notice of Malaga in *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1808, vol. iii. p. 242.

[5] "Earthquakes are still often felt at Granada and along the coast of the province of Alicante, where their effects have been very disastrous. Much further in the interior, in the small Sierra del Tremédal, or district of Albarracia, in the

they naturally provoke, we may form some idea of the insecurity of life, and of the ease with which an artful and ambi-

province of Terruel, eruptions and shocks have been very frequent since the most remote periods; the black porphyry is there seen traversing the altered strata of the oolitic formation. The old inhabitants of the country speak of sinking of the ground and of the escape of sulphureous gases when they were young; these same phenomena have occurred during four consecutive months of the preceding winter, accompanied by earthquakes, which have caused considerable mischief to the buildings of seven villages situated within a radius of two leagues. They have not, however, been attended with any loss of life, on account of the inhabitants hastening to abandon their dwellings at the first indications of danger." *Ezquerra on the Geology of Spain*, in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London*, vol. vi. pp. 412, 413, London, 1850. "The provinces of Malaga, Murcia, and Granada, and, in Portugal, the country round Lisbon, are recorded at several periods to have been devastated by great earthquakes." *Lyell's Principles of Geology*, London, 1853, p. 358. "Los terremotos son tan sensibles y freqüentes en lo alto de las montañas, como en lo llano, pues Sevilla está sujeta á ellos hallándose situada sobre una llanura tan igual y baxa como Holanda." *Bowles, Introduccion á la Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, pp. 90, 91. "The littoral plains, especially about Cartagena and Alicante, are much subject to earthquakes." *Ford's Spain*, 1847, p. 168. "This corner of Spain is the chief volcanic district of the Peninsula, which stretches from Cabo de Gata to near Cartagena; the earthquakes are very frequent." *Ford*, p. 174. "Spain, including Portugal, in its external configuration, with its vast tableland of the two Castiles, rising nearly 2000 feet above the sea, is perhaps the most interesting portion of Europe, not only in this respect, but as a region of earthquake disturbance, where the energy and destroying power of this agency have been more than once displayed upon the most tremendous scale." *Mallet's Earthquake Catalogue of the British Association*, Report for 1858, p. 9, London, 1858.

I quote these passages at length, partly on account of their interest as physical truths, and partly because the facts stated in them are essential for a right understanding of the history of Spain. Their influence on the Spanish character was pointed out, for I believe the first time, in my *History of Civilization*, vol. i. pp. 88, 89. On that occasion, I adduced no evidence to prove the frequency of earthquakes in the Peninsula, because I supposed that all persons moderately acquainted with the physical history of the earth were aware of the circumstance. But, in April, 1858, a criticism of my book appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which the serious blunders which I am said to have committed are unsparingly exposed. In p. 468 of that Review, the critic, after warning his readers against my "inaccuracies," observes, "But Mr. Buckle goes on to state that 'earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are more frequent and more destructive in Italy, and in the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, than in any other of the great countries.' Whence he infers, by a singular process of reasoning, that superstition is more rife, and the clergy more powerful; but that the fine arts flourish, poetry is cultivated, and the sciences neglected. Every link in this chain is more or less faulty. There is no volcano in the Spanish peninsula, and the only earthquake known to have occurred there was that of Lisbon." Now, I have certainly no right to expect that a reviewer, composing a popular article for an immediate purpose, and knowing that when his article is read, it will be thrown aside and forgotten, should, under such unfavourable circumstances, be at the pains of mastering all the details of his subject. To look for this would be the height of injustice. He has no interest in being accurate; his name being concealed, his reputation, if he have any, is not at stake; and the errors into which he falls, ought to be regarded with leniency, inasmuch as their vehicle being an ephemeral publication, they are not likely to be remembered, and they are therefore not likely to work much mischief.

These considerations have always prevented me from offering any reply to anonymous criticisms. But the passage in the *Edinburgh Review*, to which I have called attention, displays such marvellous ignorance, that I wish to rescue it from oblivion, and to put it on record as a literary curiosity. The other charges brought against me could, I need hardly say, be refuted with equal ease. Indeed, no reasonable

tious priesthood could turn such insecurity into an engine for the advancement of their own power.[6]

person can possibly suppose that, after years of arduous and uninterrupted study, I should have committed those childish blunders with which my opponents unscrupulously taunt me. Once for all, I may say that I have made no assertion for the truth of which I do not possess ample and irrefragable evidence. But it is impossible for me to arrange and adduce all the proofs at the same time; and, in so vast an enterprise, I must in some degree rely, not on the generosity of the reader, but on his candour. I do not think that I am asking too much in requesting him, if on any future occasion his judgment should be in suspense between me and my critics, to give me the benefit of the doubt, and to bear in mind that statements embodied in a deliberate and slowly concocted work, authenticated by the author's name, are, as a mere matter of antecedent probability, more likely to be accurate than statements made in reviews and newspapers, which, besides being written hastily, and often at very short notice, are unsigned, and by which, consequently, their promulgators evade all responsibility, avoid all risk, and can, in their own persons, neither gain fame nor incur obloquy.

The simple fact is, that in Spain there have been more earthquakes than in all other parts of Europe put together, Italy excepted. If the destruction of property and of life produced by this one cause were summed up, the results would be appalling. When we moreover add those alarming shocks, which, though less destructive, are far more frequent, and of which not scores nor hundreds, but thousands, have occurred, and which by increasing the total amount of fear, have to an incalculable extent promoted the growth of superstition, it is evident that such phenomena must have played an important part in forming the national character of the Spaniards. Whoever will take the trouble of consulting the following passages will find decisive proofs of the frightful ravages committed by earthquakes in Spain alone; Portugal being excluded. They all refer to a period of less than two hundred years; the first being in 1639, and the last in 1829. *Lettres de Madame de Villars, Ambassadrice en Espagne*, Amsterdam, 1759, p. 205. *Laborde's Spain*, London, 1809, vol. i. p. 169. *Dunlop's Memoirs of Spain*, Edinburgh, 1834, vol. ii. pp. 226, 227. *Boisel, Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1669, 4to, p. 243. *Mallett's Earthquake Catalogue of the British Association*, London, 1858; Report for 1853, p. 146; for 1854, pp. 26, 27, 54, 55, 57, 58, 65, 110, 140, 173, 196, 202. *Swinburne's Travels through Spain*, London, 1787, vol. i. p. 166. *Ford's Spain*, London, 1847, p. 178. *Bacon's Six Years in Biscay*, London, 1838, p. 32, compared with *Inglis' Spain*, London, 1831, vol. i. p. 393, vol. ii. pp. 289–291.

These authorities narrate the ravages committed during a hundred and ninety years. From their account, it is manifest, that in Spain hardly a generation passed by without castles, villages, and towns being destroyed, and men, women, or children killed by earthquakes. But, according to our anonymous instructor, it is doubtful if there ever was an earthquake in Spain; for he says of the whole Peninsula, including Portugal, "the only earthquake known to have occurred there was that of Lisbon."

[6] On the superstitious fears caused by earthquakes in Spain, see a good passage in *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes*, p. 155. "En el año 267, dia jueves, 22 de la luna de Xawâl, tembló la tierra con tan espantoso ruido y estremecimiento, que cayeron muchos alcazares y magnificos edificios, y otros quedaron muy quebrantados, se hundieron montes, se abrieron peñascos, y la tierra se hundió y tragó pueblos y alturas, el mar se retrajo y apartó de las costas, y desaparecieron islas y escollos en el mar. Las gentes abandonaban los pueblos y huian á los campos, las aves salian de sus nidos, y las fieras espantadas dejaban sus grutas y madrigueras con general turbacion y trastorno; nunca los hombres vieron ni oyeron cosa semejante; se arruinaron muchos pueblos de la costa meridional y occidental de España. Todas estas cosas influyeron tanto en los animos de los hombres, y en especial en la ignorante multitud, que no pudo Almondhir persuadirles que eran cosas naturales, aunque poco frecuentes, que no tenian influjo ni relacion con las obras de los hombres, ni con sus empresas, sino por su ignorancia y vanos temores, que lo mismo temblaba la tierra para los muslimes que para los cristianos, para las fieras que para las inocentes criaturas." Compare *Geddes' Tracts concerning Spain*,

Another feature of this singular country is the prevalence of a pastoral life, mainly caused by the difficulty of establishing regular habits of agricultural industry. In most parts of Spain, the climate renders it impossible for the labourer to work the whole of the day;[7] and this forced interruption encourages among the people an irregularity and instability of purpose, which makes them choose the wandering avocations of a shepherd, rather than the more fixed pursuits of agriculture.[8] And during the long and arduous war which they waged against their Mohammedan invaders, they were subject to such incessant surprises and forays on the part of the enemy, as to make it advisable that their means of subsistence should be easily removed; hence they preferred the produce of their flocks to that of their lands, and were shepherds instead of agriculturists, simply because by that means they would suffer less in case of an unfavourable issue. Even after the capture of Toledo, late in the eleventh century, the inhabitants of the

London, 1730, vol. i. p. 89; and Mariana, who, under the year 1395, says (*Historia de España*, vol. v. p. 27): Tembló la tierra en Valencia mediado el mes de Diciembre, con que muchos edificios cayéron por tierra, otros quedáron desplomados; que era maravilla y lástima. El pueblo *como agorero que es, pensaba eran señales del cielo* y pronosticos de los daños que temian." The history of Spain abounds with similar instances far too numerous to quote or even to refer to. But the subject is so important, and has been so misrepresented, that, even at the risk of wearying the reader, I will give one more illustration of the use of earthquakes in fostering Spanish superstition. In 1504 "an earthquake, accompanied by a tremendous hurricane, such as the oldest men did not remember, had visited Andalusia, and especially Carmona, a place belonging to the Queen, and occasioned frightful desolation there. The superstitious Spaniards now read in these portents *the prophetic signs by which Heaven announces some great calamity. Prayers were put up in every temple*," &c., &c. *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, Paris, 1842, vol. iii. p. 174.

[7] *Buckle's History of Civilization*, vol. i. p. 32. See also *Laborde's Spain*, vol. iv. p. 42.

[8] A writer early in the eighteenth century notices "el gran numero de pastores que hay." *Uztariz Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, 3d ed. Madrid, 1757, folio, p. 20. As to the Arabic period, see *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion*, p. 254: "Muchos pueblos, siguiendo su natural inclinacion, se entregaron á la ganaderia." Hence "the wandering life so congenial to the habits of the Spanish peasantry," noticed in *Cook's Spain*, vol. i. p. 85, where, however, the connexion between this and the physical constitution of the country is not indicated. The solution is given by Mr. Ticknor with his usual accuracy and penetration: "The climate and condition of the Peninsula, which from a very remote period had favoured the shepherd's life and his pursuits, facilitated, no doubt, if they did not occasion, the first introduction into Spanish poetry of a pastoral tone, whose echoes are heard far back among the old ballads." . . . "From the Middle Ages the occupations of a shepherd's life had prevailed in Spain and Portugal to a greater extent than elsewhere in Europe; and, probably, in consequence of this circumstance, eclogues and bucolics were early known in the poetry of both countries, and became connected in both with the origin of the popular drama." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1849, vol. iii. pp. 9, 36. On the pastoral literature of Spain, see *Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature*, London, 1823, vol. i. pp. 123–129; and on the great number of pastoral romances, *Southey's Letters from Spain*, Bristol, 1799, p. 336. But these writers, not seizing the whole question, have failed to observe the relation between the literary, physical, and social phenomena.

frontier in Estramadura, La Mancha, and New Castile, were almost entirely herdsmen, and their cattle were pastured not in private meadows but in the open fields.[9] All this increased the uncertainty of life, and strengthened that love of adventure, and that spirit of romance, which, at a later period, gave a tone to the popular literature. Under such circumstances, every thing grew precarious, restless, and unsettled; thought and inquiry were impossible; doubt was unknown; and the way was prepared for those superstitious habits, and for that deep-rooted and tenacious belief, which have always formed a principal feature in the history of the Spanish nation.

To what extent these circumstances would, if they stood by themselves, have affected the ultimate destiny of Spain, is a question hardly possible to answer; but there can be no doubt that their effects must always have been important, though, from the paucity of evidence, we are unable to measure them with precision. In regard, however, to the actual result, this point is of little moment, because a long chain of other and still more influential events became interwoven with those just mentioned, and, tending in precisely the same direction, produced a combination which nothing could resist, and from which we may trace with unerring certainty the steps by which the nation subsequently declined. The history of the causes of the degradation of Spain will indeed become too clear to be mistaken, if studied in reference to those general principles which I have enunciated, and which will themselves be confirmed by the light they throw on this instructive though melancholy subject.

After the subversion of the Roman Empire, the first leading fact in the history of Spain is the settlement of the Visigoths, and the establishment of their opinions in the Peninsula. They, as well as the Suevi, who immediately preceded them, were Arians, and Spain during a hundred and fifty years became the rallying point of that famous heresy,[10] to which indeed most

[9] See the memoir by Jovellanos, in *Laborde's Spain*, vol. iv. p. 127. This was the necessary consequence of those vindictive attacks by which, for several centuries, both Mohammedans and Christians seemed resolved to turn Spain into a desert; ravaging each other's fields, and destroying every crop they could meet with. *Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes*, pp. 75, 188, 278, 346, 396, 417, 418, 471, 499, 500, 505, 523, 539, 544, 551, 578, 645, 651, 658. To quote one of these instances, late in the eleventh century: "La constancia de Alfonso ben Ferdeland en hacer entradas y talas en tierra de Toledo dos veces cada año, fué tanta que empobreció y apuró los pueblos;" . . . . el tirano Alfonso taló y quemó los campos y los pueblos." *Conde*, p. 346. As such havoc, which was continued with few interruptions for about seven hundred years, has done much towards forming the national character of the Spaniards, it may be worth while to refer to *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. iii. p. 438, vol. iv. pp. 193, 314, vol. v. pp. 92, 317, 337; and to *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, Paris, 1846, vol. i. p. 99.

[10] The unsettled chronology of the early history of Spain appears from the dif-

of the Gothic tribes then adhered. But, at the end of the fifth century, the Franks, on their conversion from Paganism, adopted the opposite and orthodox creed, and were encouraged by their clergy to make war upon their heretical neighbours. Clovis, who was then king of the Franks, was regarded by the church as the champion of the faith, in whose behalf he attacked the unbelieving Visigoths.[11] His successors, moved by the same motives, pursued the same policy;[12] and, during nearly a century, there was a war of opinions between France and Spain, by which the Visigothic empire was seriously endangered, and was more than once on the verge of dissolution. Hence, in Spain, a war for national independence became also a war for national religion,[13] and an intimate alliance was formed between the Arian kings and the Arian clergy. The latter class were, in those ages of ignorance, sure to gain by such a compact,[14]

ferent statements of various writers respecting the duration of Arianism, a point of much more importance than the death and accession of kings. Antequera (*Historia de la Legislacion Española*, Madrid, 1849, p. 37) says, "La secta arriana, pues, segun las epocas fijadas, permaneció en España 125 años;" Fleury (*Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. vii. p. 586, Paris, 1758) says "environ 180 ans;" and M'Crie, generally well informed, says in his *History of the Reformation in Spain*, Edinburgh, 1829, p. 7, "Arianism was the prevailing and established creed of the country for nearly two centuries:" for this, he refers to Gregory of Tours. With good reason, therefore, does M. Fauriel term it "une question qui souffre des difficultés." See his able work, *Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, Paris, 1836, vol. i. p. 10.

[11] In 496, the orthodox clergy looked on Clovis as "un champion qu'il peut opposer aux hérétiques visigoths et burgondes." *Fauriel*, *Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, vol. ii. p. 41. They also likened him to Gideon, p. 66. Compare *Fleury*, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. vii. pp. 89, 90. Ortiz is so enthusiastic that he forgets his patriotism and warmly praises the ferocious barbarian who made war, indeed, on his country, but still whose speculative opinions were supposed to be sound. "Mientras Alarico desfogaba su encono contra los Católicos, tuvo la Iglesia Gallicana el consuelo de ver Católico á su gran Rey Clodoveo. Era el único Monarca del mundo que á la sazon profesaba la Religion verdadera." *Ortiz*, *Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 96, Madrid, 1796.

[12] Thus, in 531, Childebert marched against the Visigoths, because they were Arians. *Fauriel*, *Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, vol. ii. p. 131; and in 542, Childebert and Clotaire made another attack, and laid siege to Saragossa, p. 142. "No advertian los Godos lo que su falsa creencia les perjudicaba, y si lo advertian, su obcecacion les hacia no poner remedio. Los reyes francos, que eran católicos, les movian guerras en las Galias por arrianos, y los obispos católicos de la misma Galia gótica deseaban la dominacion de los francos." *Lafuente*, *Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 380, Madrid, 1850.

[13] "Los Francos por el amor que tenian á la Religion Cathólica, que poco ántes abrazaran, aborrecian á los Visigodos como gente inficionada de la secta Arriana." *Mariana*, *Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 43. And of one of their great battles he says, p. 46, "vulgarmente se llamó el campo Arriano por causa de la religion que los Godos seguian."

[14] "En religion et en croyance, comme en toute chose, les Visigoths se montrèrent plus sérieux, plus profonds, plus tenaces que les Burgondes. J'ai dit ailleurs comment ils étaient devenus presque en même temps chrétiens et ariens. Transplantés en Gaule et en Espagne, non-seulement ils avaient persévéré dans leur hérésie; ils s'y étaient affermis, affectionnés, et dans le peu que l'histoire laisse apercevoir de leur clergé, on s'assure qu'il était austère, zélé, et qu'il exerçait un grand empire sur les chefs comme sur la masse de la nation visigothe." . . . . "Les rois visigoths

and they received considerable temporal advantages in return for the prayers which they offered up against the enemy, as also for the miracles which they occasionally performed. Thus early, a foundation was laid for the immense influence which the Spanish priesthood have possessed ever since, and which was strengthened by subsequent events. For, late in the sixth century, the Latin clergy converted their Visigothic masters, and the Spanish government, becoming orthodox, naturally conferred upon its teachers an authority equal to that wielded by the Arian hierarchy.[15] Indeed, the rulers of Spain, grateful to those who had shown them the error of their ways, were willing rather to increase the power of the church than to diminish it. The clergy took advantage of this disposition; and the result was, that before the middle of the seventh century the spiritual classes possessed more influence in Spain than in any other part of Europe.[16] The ecclesiastical synods became not only councils of the church, but also parliaments of the realm.[17] At Toledo, which was then the capital of Spain, the power of the clergy was immense, and was so ostentatiously displayed, that in a council they held there in the year 633, we find the king literally prostrating himself on the ground before the bishops;[18] and half a century later, the ecclesiastical historian mentions that this humiliating practice was repeated by

se croyaient obligés à de grandes démonstrations de respect pour leur clergé arien." *Fauriel*, *Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, vol. i. pp. 577, 578.

[15] The abjuration of Recared took place between the years 586 and 589. *Dunham's History of Spain and Portugal*, London, 1832, vol. i. pp. 126-128. *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 99-101. *Ortiz*, *Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 120. *Lafuente*, *Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 360-363; and says Lafuente, p. 384, "Recaredo fué el primero que con todo el ardor de un néofito, comenzó en el tercer concilio toledano á dar á estas asambleas conocimiento y decision en negocios pertenecientes al gobierno temporal de los pueblos." Similarly, Antequera (*Historia de la Legislacion*, p. 31) is happy to observe that "Recaredo abjuró la heregia arriana, abrazó decididamente la religion de Jesu-Cristo, y *concedió á los ministros de la iglesia una influencia en el gobierno del Estado, que vino á ser en adelante, ilimitada y absoluta.*"

[16] "As for the councils held under the Visigoth kings of Spain during the seventh century, it is not easy to determine whether they are to be considered as ecclesiastical or temporal assemblies. No kingdom was so thoroughly under the bondage of the hierarchy as Spain." *Hallam's Middle Ages*, edit. 1846, vol. i. p. 511. "Les prêtres étaient les seuls qui avaient conservé et même augmenté leur influence dans la monarchie goth-espagnole." *Sempere*, *Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, Bordeaux, 1815, p. 19. Compare *Lafuente*, *Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 368, on "la influencia y preponderancia del clero, no ya solo en los negocios eclesiásticos, sino tambien en los políticos y de estado."

[17] "But it is in Spain, after the Visigoths had cast off their Arianism, that the bishops more manifestly influence the whole character of the legislation. The synods of Toledo were not merely national councils, but parliaments of the realm." *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, London, 1854, vol. i. p. 380. See also *Antequera*, *Historia de la Legislacion Española*, pp. 41, 42.

[18] In 633, at a council of Toledo, the king "s'étant prosterné à terre devant les évêques." *Fleury*, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. viii. p. 308, Paris, 1758.

another king, having become, he says, an established custom.[19] That this was not a mere meaningless ceremony, is moreover evident from other and analogous facts. Exactly the same tendency is seen in their jurisprudence; since, by the Visigothic code, any layman, whether plaintiff or defendant, might insist on his cause being tried not by the temporal magistrate, but by the bishop of the diocese. Nay, even if both parties to the suit were agreed in preferring the civil tribunal, the bishop still retained the power of revoking the decision, if in his opinion it was incorrect; and it was his especial business to watch over the administration of justice, and to instruct the magistrates how to perform their duty.[20] Another, and more painful proof of the ascendency of the clergy is that the laws against heretics were harsher in Spain than in any other country; the Jews in particular being persecuted with unrelenting rigour.[21] Indeed, the desire of upholding the faith was strong enough to produce a formal declaration that no sovereign should be acknowledged, unless he promised to preserve its purity; the judges of the purity being of course the bishops themselves, to whose suffrage the king owed his throne.[22]

[19] In 688, at a council of Toledo, "le roi Egica y étoit en personne; et après s'être prosterné devant les évêques, *suivant la coutume*, il fit lire un mémoire où il leur demandoit conseil," &c. *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. ix. p. 89, Paris, 1758.

[20] See a short but admirable summary of this part of the Visigothic code in *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 77-78; perhaps the best history in the English language of a foreign modern country. "In Spain, the bishops had a special charge to keep continual watch over the administration of justice, and were summoned on all great occasions to instruct the judges to act with piety and justice." *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, 1854, vol. i. p. 386. The council of Toledo, in 633, directs bishops to admonish judges. *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. viii. p. 313; and a learned Spanish lawyer, Sempere, says of the bishops, "Le code du *Fuero Juzgo* fut leur ouvrage; les juges étaient sujets à leur juridiction; les plaideurs, grevés par la sentence des juges, pouvaient se plaindre aux évêques, et ceux-ci évoquer ainsi leurs arrêts, les réformer, et châtier les magistrats. Les procureurs du roi, comme les juges, étaient obligés de se présenter aux synodes diocésains annuels, pour apprendre des ecclésiastiques l'administration de la justice; enfin le governement des Goths n'était qu'une monarchie théocratique." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, Paris, 1826, vol. i. p. 6, vol. ii. pp. 212-214.

[21] "The terrible laws against heresy, and the atrocious juridical persecutions of the Jews, already designate Spain as the throne and centre of merciless bigotry." *Milman's History of Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 381. "Tan luego como la religion católica se halló dominando en el trono y en el pueblo, comenzaron los concilianos toledanos á dictar disposiciones canónicas y á prescribir castigos contra los idolatras, contra los judios, y contra los hereges." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. ix. pp. 199-200. See also p. 214, and vol. ii. pp. 406, 407, 451. *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. pp. 235, 236. *Johnston's Institutes of the Civil Law of Spain*, p. 262. *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 260, 261; and *Southey's Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 18. I particularly indicate these passages, on account of the extraordinary assertion of Dr. M'Crie, that "on a review of criminal proceedings in Spain anterior to the establishment of the court of Inquisition, it appears in general that heretics were more mildly treated there than in other countries." *M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain*, p. 83, the best book on the Spanish Protestants.

[22] A council of Toledo in 638 orders "qu'à l'avenir aucun roi ne montera sur le

Such were the circumstances which, in and before the seventh century, secured to the Spanish Church an influence unequalled in any other part of Europe.[23] Early in the eighth century, an event occurred which apparently broke up and dispersed the hierarchy, but which, in reality, was extremely favourable to them. In 711 the Mohammedans sailed from Africa, landed in the south of Spain, and in the space of three years conquered the whole country, except the almost inaccessible regions of the north-west. The Spaniards, secure in their native mountains,[24] soon recovered heart, rallied their forces, and began in their turn to assail the invaders. A desperate struggle ensued, which lasted nearly eight centuries, and in which, a second time in the history of Spain, a war for independence was also a war for religion; the contest between Arabian Infidels and Spanish Christians, succeeding that formerly carried on between the Trinitarians of France and the Arians of Spain. Slowly, and with infinite difficulty, the Christians fought their way. By the middle of the ninth century, they reached the line of the Douro.[25] Before the close of the eleventh century, they conquered as far as the Tagus, and Toledo, their ancient capital, fell into their hands in 1085.[26] Even then much remained to be done. In the south, the struggle assumed its deadliest form, and there it was prolonged with such obstinacy, that it was not until the capture of Malaga in

trône qu'il ne promette de conserver la foi catholique;" and at another council in 681, "le roi y présenta un écrit par lequel il prioit les évêques de lui assurer le royaume, qu'il tenoit de leurs suffrages." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. viii. p. 339, vol. ix. p. 70.

[23] Those happy times have received the warm applause of a modern theologian, because in them the church "ha opuesto un muro de bronce al error;" and because there existed "la mas estrecha concordia entre el imperio y el sacerdocio, por cuyo inestimable beneficio debemos hacer incesantes votos." *Observaciones sobre El Presente y El Porvenir de la Iglesia en España, por Domingo Costa y Borras, Obispo de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1857, pp. 73, 75.

[24] To which they fled with a speed which caused their great enemy, Muza, to pass upon them a somewhat ambiguous eulogy. "Dijo, son leones en sus castillos, aguilas en sus caballos, y mugeres en sus escuadrones de á pié; pero si ven la ocasion la saben aprovechar, y cuando quedan vencidos son cabras en escapar á los montes, que no ven la tierra que pisan." *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes*, p. 30.

[25] *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. pp. xxxviii. 287. Lafuente (*Historia de España*, vol. iii. p. 363) marks the epoch rather indistinctly, "basta ya el Duero." Compare *Florez, Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas*, Madrid, 4to, 1761, vol. i. p. 68.

[26] There is a spirited account of its capture in *Mariana's Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 506-513; after which Ortiz (*Compendio de la Historia*, vol. iii. p. 156) and Lafuente (*Historia General*, vol iv. pp. 236-242) are rather tame. The Mohammedan view of this, the first decisive blow to their cause, will be found in *Conde, Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes*, p. 347. "Asi se perdió aquella inclita ciudad, y acabó el reino de Toledo con grave pérdida del Islam." The Christian view is that "concedió Dios al Rey la conquista de aquella capital." *Florez, Reynas Catholicas*, vol. i. p. 165.

1487, and of Granada in 1492, that the Christian empire was re-established, and the old Spanish monarchy finally restored.[27]

The effect of all this on the Spanish character was most remarkable. During eight successive centuries, the whole country was engaged in a religious crusade; and those holy wars which other nations occasionally waged, were, in Spain, prolonged and continued for more than twenty generations.[28] The object being not only to regain a territory, but also to re-establish a creed, it naturally happened that the expounders of that creed assumed a prominent and important position. In the camp, and in the council-chamber, the voice of ecclesiastics was heard and obeyed; for as the war aimed at the propagation of Christianity, it seemed right that her ministers should play a conspicuous part in a matter which particularly concerned them.[29] The danger to which the country was exposed being moreover very imminent, those superstitious feelings were excited which danger is apt to provoke, and to which, as I have elsewhere shown,[30] the tropical civilizations owed some of their leading peculiarities. Scarcely were the Spanish Christians driven from their homes and forced to take refuge in the north, when this great principle began to operate. In their mountainous retreat, they preserved a chest filled with relics of the saints, the possession of which they valued as their greatest security.[31]

[27] *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. pp. 313, 349. *Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes*, pp. 656, 664. *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. v. pp. 509, 561. *Lafuente, Historia*, vol. ix. pp. 341, 399.

[28] "According to the magnificent style of the Spanish historians, eight centuries of almost uninterrupted warfare elapsed, and three thousand seven hundred battles were fought, before the last of the Moorish kingdoms in Spain submitted to the Christian arms." *Robertson's Charles V.* by Prescott, London, 1857, p. 65. "En nuestra misma España, en Leon y Castilla, en esta nueva Tierra Santa, donde se sostenia una cruzada perpétua y constante contra los infieles, donde se mantenia en todo su fervor el espíritu á la vez religioso y guerrero." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. v. p. 293. "Era España theatro de una continua guerra contra los enemigos de la Fe." *Florez, Reynas Catholicas*, vol. i. p. 226. "El glorioso empeño de exterminar á los enemigos de la Fe," p. 453. "Esta guerra sagrada." Vol. ii. p. 800. "Se armaron nuestros Reyes Cathólicos, con zelo y animo alentado del cielo; y como la causa era de Religion para ensanchar los Dominios de la Fe, sacrificaron todas las fuerzas del Reyno, y sus mismas personas," p. 801. What was called the Indulgence of the Crusade was granted by the Popes "aux Espagnols qui combattoient contre les Mores." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xviii. p. xxi., vol. xix. pp. 158, 458. vol. xxi. p. 171.

[29] "En aquellos tiempos [y duró hasta todo el siglo xv. y toma de Granada] eran los obispos los primeros capitanes de los exércitos." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. iii. p. 189. "Los prelados habian sido siempre los primeros no solo en promover la guerra contra Moros, sino á presentarse en campaña con todo su poder y esfuerzo, animando á los demas con las palabras y el exemplo." Vol. v. pp. 507, 508.

[30] *History of Civilization*, vol. i. pp. 88-98.

[31] "Les chrétiens avoient apporté dans les Asturies une arche ou coffre plein de reliques, qu'ils regardèrent depuis comme la sauve-garde de leur état." . . . "Elle fut emportée et mise enfin à Oviedo, comme le lieu le plus sûr entre ces montagnes, l'ère 773, l'an 775." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. ix. p. 190. This

This was to them a national standard, round which they rallied, and by the aid of which they gained miraculous victories over their Infidel opponents. Looking upon themselves as soldiers of the cross, their minds became habituated to supernatural considerations to an extent which we can now hardly believe, and which distinguished them in this respect from every other European nation.[32] Their young men saw visions, and their old men dreamed dreams.[33] Strange sights were vouchsafed to them from heaven; on the eve of a battle mysterious portents appeared; and it was observed, that whenever the Mohammedans violated the tomb of a Christian saint, thunder and lightning were sent to rebuke the misbelievers, and, if need be, to punish their audacious invasion.[34]

"arca llena de reliquias" was taken to the Asturias in 714. *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. p. 227; and, according to Ortiz (*Compendio*, vol. ii. p. 182), it was "un tesoro inestimable de sagradas reliquias." See also *Geddes' Tracts concerning Spain*, vol. ii. p. 237, London, 1730; and *Ford's Spain*, 1847, p. 388.

[32] But no people ever felt themselves to be so absolutely soldiers of the cross as the Spaniards did, from the time of their Moorish wars; no people ever trusted so constantly to the recurrence of miracles in the affairs of their daily life; and therefore no people ever talked of Divine things as of matters in their nature so familiar and common-place. Traces of this state of feeling and character are to be found in Spanish literature on all sides." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. p. 333. Compare *Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 105, 106; and the account of the battle of las Navas in *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. i. p. 153: "On voulait trouver partout des miracles." Some of the most startling of these miracles may be found in *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. v. p. 227; in *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 378, 395, vol. iii. p. 338; and in *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. iii. p. 248, vol. iv. p. 22.

[33] One of the most curious of these prophetic dreams is preserved in *Conde, Dominacion de los Arabes*, pp. 378, 379, with its interpretation by the theologians. They were for the most part fulfilled. In 844 "El Apóstol Santiago, segun que lo prometiera al Rey, fué visto en un caballo blanco, y con una bandera blanca y en medio della una cruz roxa, que capitaneaba nuestra gente." *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. ii. pp. 310, 311. In 957 "El Apóstol Santiago fué visto entre las haces dar la victoria á los fieles," p. 382. In 1236 "Publicóse por cierto que San Jorge ayudó á los Christianos, y que se halló en la pelea." Vol iii. p. 323. On the dreams which foreshadowed these appearances, see *Mariana*, vol. ii. pp. 309, 446, vol. iii. pp. 15, 108.

[34] "Priests mingled in the council and the camp, and, arrayed in their sacerdotal robes, not unfrequently led the armies to battle. They interpreted the will of Heaven as mysteriously revealed in dreams and visions. Miracles were a familiar occurrence. The violated tombs of the saints sent forth thunders to consume the invaders." *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. xxxix. In the middle of the ninth century, there happened the following event: "En lo mas cruel de los tormentos" [to which the Christians were exposed] "subió Abderramen un dia á las azuteas ó galerias de su Palacio. Descubrió desde alli los cuerpos de los Santos martirizados en los patíbulos y atravesados con los palos, mandó los quemasen todos para que no quedase reliquia. Cumplióse luego la orden: pero aquel impio probó bien presto los rigores de la venganza divina que volvía por la sangre derramada de sus Santos. Improvisamente se le pegó la lengua al paladar y fauces; cerrósele la boca, y no pudo pronunciar una palabra, ni dar un gemido. Conduxeronle sus criados á la cama, murió aquella misma noche, y antes de apagarse las hogueras en que ardian los santos cuerpos, entró la infeliz alma de Abderramen en los eternos fuegos del infierno." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. iii. p. 52.

Under circumstances like these, the clergy could not fail to extend their influence; or, we may rather say, the course of events extended it for them. The Spanish Christians, pent up for a considerable time in the mountains of Asturias, and deprived of their former resources, quickly degenerated, and soon lost the scanty civilization to which they had attained. Stripped of all their wealth, and confined to what was comparatively a barren region, they relapsed into barbarism, and remained, for at least a century, without arts, or commerce, or literature.[33] As their ignorance increased, so also did their superstition; while this last, in its turn, strengthened the authority of their priests. The order of affairs, therefore, was very natural. The Mohammedan invasion made the Christians poor; poverty caused ignorance; ignorance caused credulity; and credulity, depriving men both of the power and of the desire to investigate for themselves, encouraged a reverential spirit, and confirmed those submissive habits, and that blind obedience to the Church, which form the leading and most unfortunate peculiarity of Spanish history.

From this it appears, that there were three ways in which the Mohammedan invasion strenghtened the devotional feelings of the Spanish people. The first way was by promoting a long and obstinate religious war; the second was by the presence of constant and imminent dangers; and the third way was by the poverty, and therefore the ignorance, which it produced among the Christians.

These events being preceded by the great Arian war, and being accompanied and perpetually reinforced by those physical phenomena which I have indicated as tending in the same direction, worked with such combined and accumulated energy, that in Spain the theological element became not so much a component of the national character, but rather the character itself. The ablest and most ambitious of the Spanish kings were compelled to follow in the general wake; and, despots though they were, they succumbed to that pressure of opinions which

[33] Circourt (*Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. p. 5) says, "Les chrétiens qui ne voulurent pas se soumettre furent rejetés dans les incultes ravins des Pyrénées, où ils purent se maintenir comme les bêtes fauves se maintiennent dans les forêts." But the most curious account of the state of the Spanish Christians in the last half of the eighth century, and in the first half of the ninth, will be found in *Conde*, *Historia de la Dominacion*, pp. 95, 125. "Referian de estos pueblos de Galicia que son cristianos, y de los mas bravos de Afranc; pero que viven como fieras, que nunca lavan sus cuerpos ni vestidos, que no se los mudan, y los llevan puestos hasta que se los caen despedazados en andrajos, que entran unos en las casas de otros sin pedir licencia." . . . . In A.D. 815, "no habia guerra sino contra cristianos por mantener frontera, y no con deseo de ampliar y extender los limites del reino, ni por esperanza de sacar grandes riquezas, por ser los cristianos gente pobre de montaña sin saber nada de comercio ni de buenas artes."

they believed they were controlling. The war with Granada, late in the fifteenth century, was theological far more than temporal; and Isabella, who made the greatest sacrifices in order to conduct it, and who in capacity as well as in honesty was superior to Ferdinand, had for her object not so much the acquisition of territory as the propagation of the Christian faith.[36] Indeed, any doubts which could be entertained respecting the purpose of the contest must have been dissipated by subsequent events. For, scarcely was the war brought to a close, when Ferdinand and Isabella issued a decree expelling from the country every Jew who refused to deny his faith; so that the soil of Spain might be no longer polluted by the presence of unbelievers.[37] To make them Christians, or, failing in that, to exterminate them, was the business of the Inquisition, which was established in the same reign, and which before the end of the fifteenth century was in full operation.[38] During the sixteenth

[36] "Isabella may be regarded as the soul of this war. She engaged in it with the most exalted views, less to acquire territory than to reëstablish the empire of the Cross over the ancient domain of Christendom." *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 392. Compare *Fleury*, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxiii. p. 583, "bannir de toute l'Espagne la secte de Mahomet;" and *Circourt*, *Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 99, 109, "pour elle une seule chose avait de l'importance; extirper de ses royaumes le nom et la secte de Mahomet." . . "Sa vie fut presque exclusivement consacrée à faire triompher la croix sur le croissant." Mariana (*Historia de España*, vol. v. p. 344, and vol. vii. pp. 51, 52) has warmly eulogized her character, which indeed, from the Spanish point of view, was perfect. See also *Florez*, *Reynas Catholicas*, vol ii. pp. 774, 788, 829.

[37] "En España los Reyes Don Fernando y Doña Isabel luego que se viéron desembarazados de la guerra de los Moros, acordáron de echar de todo su reyno á los Judíos." *Mariana*, *Historia de España*, vol. vi. p. 303. A Spanish historian, writing less than seventy years ago, expresses his approbation in the following terms: "Arrancado de nuestra peninsula el imperio Mahometano, quedaba todavía la secta Judayca, peste acaso mas perniciosa, y sin duda mas peligrosa y extendida, por estar los Judios establecidos en todos los pueblos de ella. Pero los Catolicos Monarcas, cuyo mayor afan era desarraigar de sus reynos toda planta y raiz infecta y contraria á la fé de Jesu-Cristo, dieron decreto en Granada dia 30 de Marzo del año mismo de 1492, mandando saliesen de sus dominios los Judios que no se bautizasen dentro de 4 meses." *Ortiz*, *Compendio*, Madrid, 1798, vol. v. p. 564. The importance of knowing how these and similar events are judged by Spaniards, induces me to give their own words at a length which otherwise would be needlessly prolix. Historians, generally, are too apt to pay more attention to public transactions than to the opinions which those transactions evoke; though, in point of fact, the opinions form the most valuable part of history, since they are the result of more general causes, while political actions are often due to the peculiarities of powerful individuals.

Of the number of Jews actually expelled, I can find no trustworthy account. They are differently estimated at from 160,000 to 800,000. *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii. p. 148. *Mariana*, *Historia de España*, vol. vi. p. 304. *Ortiz*, *Compendio*, vol. v. p. 564. *Lafuente*, *Historia de España*, vol. ix. pp. 412, 413. *Llorente*, *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, Paris, 1817, vol. i. p. 261. *Mata*, *Dos Discursos*, Madrid, 1794, pp. 64, 65. *Castro*, *Decadencia de España*, Cadiz, 1852, p. 19.

[38] It had been introduced into Aragon in 1242; but, according to M. Tapia, "sin embargo, la persecucion se limitó entonces á la secta de los albigenses; y como

century, the throne was occupied by two princes of eminent ability, who pursued a similar course. Charles V., who succeeded Ferdinand in 1516, governed Spain for forty years, and the general character of his administration was the same as that of his predecessors. In regard to his foreign policy, his three principal wars were against France, against the German princes, and against Turkey. Of these, the first was secular; but the two last were essentially religious. In the German war, he defended the church against innovation; and at the battle of Muhlberg, he so completely humbled the Protestant princes, as to retard for some time the progress of the Reformation.[39] In his other great war, he, as the champion of Christianity against Mohammedanism, consummated what his grandfather Ferdinand had begun. Charles defeated and dislodged the Mohammedans in the east, just as Ferdinand had done in the west; the repulse of the Turks before Vienna being to the sixteenth century, what the conquest of the Arabs of Granada was to the fifteenth.[40] It was, therefore, with reason that Charles, at the close of his career, could boast that he had always preferred his creed to his country, and that the first object of his ambition had been to maintain the interests of Christianity.[41] The zeal with which he struggled for the faith, also appears in his exertions against heresy in the Low Countries. According to contemporary and competent authorities, from fifty thousand to a hundred thousand per-

de ellos hubo tan pocos en Castilla, no se consideró sin duda necesario en ella el establecimiento de aquel tribunal." *Tapia, Historia de la Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. ii. p. 302. Indeed, Llorente says (*Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, Paris, 1817, vol. i. p. 88), "Il est incertain si au commencement du 15e siècle l'Inquisition existait en Castille." In the recent work by M. Lafuente, 1232 is given as its earliest date; but "á fines del siglos xiv. y principios del xv. apenas puede saberse si existia tribunal de Inquisicion en Castilla." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. ix. pp. 204-206, Madrid, 1852. It seems therefore with good reason that Mariana (*Historia*, vol. vi. p. 171) terms the Inquisition of Ferdinand and Isabella "un *nuevo* y santo tribunal." See also *Florez, Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas*, vol. ii. p. 799.

[39] *Prescott's History of Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 23, London, 1857. *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. i. p. 447, London, 1841. On the religious character of his German policy, compare *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. vii. p. 330; *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vi. pp. 195, 196.

[40] *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 3; and the continuation of *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxvii. p. 280. Robertson, though praising Charles V. for this achievement, seems rather inclined to underrate its magnitude; *History of Charles V.*, p. 246.

[41] In the speech he made at his abdication, he said that "he had been ever mindful of the interests of the dear land of his birth, but above all of the great interests of Christianity. His first object had been to maintain these inviolate against the infidel." *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 8. Miñana boasts that "el César con piadoso y noble ánimo exponia su vida á los peligros para extender los limites del Imperio Christiano." *Continuacion de Mariana*, vol. viii. p. 352. Compare the continuation of *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxxi. p. 19.

sons were put to death in the Netherlands during his reign on account of their religious opinions.[42] Later inquirers have doubted the accuracy of this statement,[43] which is probably exaggerated; but we know that, between 1520 and 1550, he published a series of laws, to the effect that those who were convicted of heresy should be beheaded, or burned alive, or buried alive. The penalties were thus various, to meet the circumstances of each case. Capital punishment, however, was always to be inflicted on whoever bought an heretical book, or sold it, or even copied it for his own use.[44] His last advice to his son, well accorded with these measures. Only a few days before his death, he signed a codicil to his will, recommending that no favour should ever be shown to heretics; that they should all be put to death; and that care should be taken to uphold the Inquisition, as the best means of accomplishing so desirable an end.[45]

This barbarous policy is to be ascribed, not to the vices, nor

[42] Grotius says 100,000; Bor, Meteren, and Paul say 50,000. *Watson's History of Philip II.*, London, 1839, pp. 45, 51. *Davies' History of Holland*, London, 1841, vol. i. pp. 498, 499. *Motley's Dutch Republic*, London, 1858, vol. i. pp. 103, 104.

[43] It is doubted, if I rightly remember, by Mr. Prescott. But the opinion of that able historian is entitled to less weight from his want of acquaintance with Dutch literature, where the principal evidence must be sought for. On this, as on many other matters, the valuable work of Mr. Motley leaves little to desire.

[44] *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. pp. 196, 197. In 1523, the first persons were burned. *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. i. p. 69. The mode of burying alive is described in *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. i. p. 383, vol. ii. pp. 311, 312.

[45] He died on the 21st September; and on the 9th he signed a codicil, in which he "enjoined upon his son to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions, and this without exception, and without favour or mercy to any one. He conjured Philip to cherish the holy Inquisition as the best means of accomplishing this good work." *Prescott's Additions to Robertson's Charles V.*, p. 576. See also his instructions to Philip in *Raumer's History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. i. p. 91; and on his opinion of the Inquisition, see his conversation with Sir Thomas Wyatt, printed from the State Papers in *Froude's History of England*, vol. iii. p. 456, London, 1858. This may have been mere declamation; but in *Tapia's Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iii. pp. 76, 77, will be found a deliberate and official letter, in which Charles does not hesitate to say, "La santa inquisicion como oficio santo y puesto por los reyes católicos nuestros señores, y abuelos á honra de Dios nuestro señor y de nuestra santa fé católica, tengo firme é entrañablemente asentado y fijado en mi corazon, para la mandar favorecer y honrar, como principe justo y temeroso de Dios es obligado y debe hacer."

The codicil to the will of Charles still exists, or did very recently, among the archives at Simancas. *Ford's Spain*, 1847, p. 334. In M. Lafuente's great work, *Historia de España*, vol. xii. pp. 494, 495, Madrid, 1853, it is referred to in language which, in more senses than one, is perfectly Spanish: "Su testamento y codicilo respiran las ideas cristianas y religiosas en que habia vivido y la piedad que señaló su muerte." . . . "Es muy de notar su primera cláusula [i. e. of the codicil] por la cual deja muy encarecidamente recomendado al rey don Felipe que use de todo rigor en el castigo de los hereges luteranos que habian sido presos y se hubieren de prender en España." . . . "'Sin escepcion de persona alguna, ni admitir ruegos, ni tener respeto á persona alguna; porque para el efecto de ello favorezca y mande favorecer al Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion,'" &c.

to the temperament of the individual ruler, but to the operation of large general causes, which acted upon the individual, and impelled him to the course he pursued. Charles was by no means a vindictive man ; his natural disposition was to mercy rather than to rigour ; his sincerity is unquestionable ; he performed what he believed to be his duty ; and he was so kind a friend, that those who knew him best were precisely those who loved him most.[46] Little, however, could all that avail in shaping his public conduct. He was obliged to obey the tendencies of the age and country in which he lived. And what those tendencies were, appeared still more clearly after his death, when the throne of Spain was occupied upwards of forty years by a prince who inherited it in the prime of life, and whose reign is particularly interesting as a symptom and a consequence of the disposition of the people over whom he ruled.

Philip II., who succeeded Charles V. in 1555, was indeed eminently a creature of the time, and the ablest of his biographers aptly terms him the most perfect type of the national character.[47] His favourite maxim, which forms the key to his policy, was, "That it is better not to reign at all than to reign over heretics."[48] Armed with supreme power, he bent all his energies towards carrying this principle into effect. Directly that he heard that the Protestants were making converts in Spain, he strained every nerve to stifle the heresy ;[49] and so admirably was he seconded by the general temper of the people, that he was able without risk to suppress opinions which con-

[46] Native testimony may perhaps be accused of being partial; but, on the other hand, Raumer, in his valuable *History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. i. p. 22, justly observes, that his character has been misrepresented "by reason that historians have availed themselves by preference of the inimical narratives of French and Protestant writers." To steer between these extremes, I will transcribe the summing up of Charles's reign as it is given by a learned and singularly unprejudiced writer. "Tortuous as was sometimes the policy of the emperor, he never, like Francis, acted with treachery; his mind had too much of native grandeur for such baseness. Sincere in religion and friendship, faithful to his word, clement beyond example, liberal towards his servants, indefatigable in his regal duties, anxious for the welfare of his subjects, and generally blameless in private life, his character will not suffer by a comparison with that of any monarch of his times." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 41. "Clemency was the basis of his character," p. 30.

[47] "The Spaniards, as he grew in years, beheld, with pride and satisfaction, in their future sovereign, the most perfect type of the national character." *Prescott's History of Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 39. So, too, in *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. i. p. 128, "he was entirely a Spaniard;" and in *Lafuente*, *Historia de España*, vol. i. p. 155, "pero el reinado de Felipe fué todo Español."

[48] *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. pp. 68, 210, vol. ii. p. 26. *Watson's Philip II.*, p. 55. Compare *Fleury*, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxxiv. p. 273.

[49] "Como era tan zeloso en la extirpacion de la heregía, uno de sus primeros cuidados fué el castigo de los Luteranos; y á presencia suya, se executó en Valladolid el dia ocho de Octubre el suplicio de muchos reos de este delito." *Miñana*, *Continuacion de Mariana*, vol. ix. p. 212.

vulsed every other part of Europe. In Spain, the Reformation, after a short struggle, died completely away, and in about ten years the last vestige of it disappeared.[50] The Dutch wished to adopt, and in many instances did adopt, the reformed doctrine; therefore Philip waged against them a cruel war, which lasted thirty years, and which he continued till his death, because he was resolved to extirpate the new creed.[51] He ordered that every heretic who refused to recant should be burned. If the heretic did recant, some indulgence was granted; but having once been tainted, he must die. Instead of being burned, he was therefore to be executed.[52] Of the number of those who actually suffered in the Low Countries, we have no precise information;[53] but Alva triumphantly boasted that, in the five or six years of his administration, he had put to death in cold blood more than eighteen thousand, besides a still greater number whom he had slain on the field of battle.[54] This, even during his short tenure of power, would make about forty thousand victims; an estimate probably not far from the truth, since we know from other sources, that in one year more than eight thousand were either executed or burned.[55] Such meas-

[50] The contest with Protestantism in Spain, under such auspices, was short. It began in earnest, and in blood about 1559, and was substantially ended in 1570." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 425. See also *M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Spain*, pp. 336, 346. Thus it was that "España se preservó del contagio. Hizolo con las armas Carlos V., y con las hogueras los inquisidores. España se aisló del movimiento europeo." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. i. p. 144, Madrid, 1850. M. Lafuente adds, that, in his opinion, all Christendom is about to follow the good example set by Spain of rejecting Protestantism. "Si no nos equivocamos, en nuestra misma edad se notan síntomas de ir marchando este problema hácia su resolucion. El catolicismo gana prosélitos; los protestantes de hoy no son lo que antes fueron, y creemos que la unidad católica se realizará."

[51] Before the arrival of Alva, "Philip's commands to Margaret were imperative, to use her utmost efforts to extirpate the heretics." *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. i. p. 551; and in 1563 he wrote, "The example and calamities of France prove how wholesome it is to punish heretics with rigour." *Raumer's History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, vol. i. p. 171. The Spaniards deemed the Dutch guilty of a double crime; being rebels against God and the king: "Rebeldes á Dios por la heregía, y á su Principe á quien debian obedecer." *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. vii. p. 410. "Tratauan de secreto de quitar la obediencia á Dios y á su Principe." *Vanderhammen's Don Felipe el Prudente Segundo deste Nombre*, Madrid, 1632, p. 44 rev. Or, as Miñana phrases it, Philip "tenia los mismos enemigos que Dios." *Continuacion de Mariana*, vol. x. p. 139.

[52] *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. i. p. 229. *Watson's Philip II.*, pp. 51, 52, 177.

[53] Mr. Motley, under the year 1566, says, "The Prince of Orange estimated that up to this period fifty thousand persons in the provinces had been put to death in obedience to the edicts. He was a moderate man, and accustomed to weigh his words." *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. i. pp. 424, 425.

[54] *Watson's Philip II.*, pp. 248, 249. Tapia (*Civilizacion Española*, vol. iii. p. 95) says, "quitó la vida á mas de diez y ocho mil protestantes con diversos géneros de suplicios." Compare *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. ii. p. 423, and *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. i. p. 608.

[55] *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. i. p. 567. Vanderhammen (*Don Filipe el Prudente*, Madrid, 1632, p. 52 rev.), with tranquil pleasure, assures us that "muri-

ures were the result of instructions issued by Philip, and formed a necessary part of his general scheme.[56] The desire paramount in his mind, and to which he sacrificed all other considerations, was to put down the new creed, and to re-instate the old one. To this, even his immense ambition and his inordinate love of power were subordinate. He aimed at the empire of Europe, because he longed to restore the authority of the Church.[57] All his policy, all his negotiations, all his wars, pointed to this one end. Soon after his accession, he concluded an ignominious treaty with the Pope, that it might not be said that he bore arms against the head of the Christian world.[58] And his last great enterprise, in some respects the most important of all, was to fit out, at an incredible cost, that famous Armada with which he hoped to humble England, and to nip the heresy of Europe in its bud, by depriving the Protestants of their principal support, and of the only asylum where they were sure to find safe and honourable refuge.[59]

essen mil y setecientas personas en pocos dias con fuego, cordel y cuchillo en diuersos lugares."

[56] "El duque de Alba, obrando en conformidad á las instrucciones de su soberano, y apoyado en la aprobacion que merecian al rey todas sus medidas." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xiii. p. 221.

[57] "It was to restore the Catholic Church that he desired to obtain the empire of Europe." *Davies' History of Holland*, vol. ii. p. 329. "El protestó siempre 'que sus desinios en la guerra, y sus exercitos no se encaminauan á otra cosa, que al ensalçamiento de la Religion Christiana.'" *Vanderhammen's Don Filipe el Prudente*, p. 125. "El que aspiraba á someter todas las naciones de la tierra á su credo religioso." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. p. 203. The bishop of Salamanca in 1563 openly boasted "que son roi ne s'étoit marié avec la reine d'Angleterre que pour ramener cette isle à l'obéissance de l'église." *Continuation de Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. xxxiii. p. 331. Compare *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vi. p. 204. "Este casamiento no debió de tener otras miras que el de la religion."

[58] On this treaty, the only humiliating one which he ever concluded, see *Prescott's Philip II.*, vol. i. p. 104. His dying advice to his son was, "Siempre estareis en la obediencia de la Santa Iglesia Romana, y del Sumo Pontifice, teniendole por vuestro Padre espiritual." *Davila, Historia de la Vida de Felipe Tercero*, Madrid, 1771, folio, lib. i. p. 29. According to another writer, "La ultima palabra que le salió con el espiritu, fue: 'Yo muero como Catolico Christiano en la Fe y obediencia de la Iglesia Romana, y respeto al Papa, como á quien trae en sus manos las llaues del Cielo, como á Principe de la Iglesia, y Teniente de Dios sobre el imperio de las almas.'" *Vanderhammen, Don Filipe el Prudente*, p. 124.

[59] Elizabeth, uniting the three terrible qualities of heresy, power, and ability, was obnoxious to the Spaniards to an almost incredible degree, and there never was a more thoroughly national enterprise than the fitting out of the Armada against her. One or two passages from a grave historian, will illustrate the feelings with which she was regarded even after her death, and will assist the reader in forming an opinion respecting the state of the Spanish mind. "Isabel, ó Jezabel, Reyna de Inglaterra, heretica Calvinista, y la mayor perseguidora que ha tenido la sangre de Jesu-Christo y los hijos de la Iglesia." *Davila, Historia de Felipe Tercero*, p. 74. "Los sucesos de fuera causaron admiracion; y el mayor y muy esperado de toda la Christiandad fue la muerte de Isabela, Reyna de Inglaterra, heretica Calvinista, que hizo su nombre famoso con la infamia de su vida, y perseguir á la Iglesia, derramando la sangre de los Santos, que defendian la verdadera Religion Catolica, dexando registradas sus maldades en las historias públicas del mundo, pasando su

While Philip, following the course of his predecessors, was wasting the blood and treasure of Spain in order to propagate religious opinions,[60] the people, instead of rebelling against so monstrous a system, acquiesced in it, and cordially sanctioned it. Indeed, they not only sanctioned it, but they almost worshipped the man by whom it was enforced. There probably never lived a prince who, during so long a period, and amid so many vicissitudes of fortune, was adored by his subjects as Philip II. was. In evil report, and in good report, the Spaniards clung to him with unshaken loyalty. Their affection was not lessened, either by his reverses, or by his forbidding deportment, or by his cruelty, or by his grievous exactions. In spite of all, they loved him to the last. Such was his absurd arrogance, that he allowed none, not even the most powerful nobles, to address him, except on their knees, and, in return, he only spoke in half sentences, leaving them to guess the rest, and to fulfil his commands as best they might.[61] And ready enough they were to obey his slightest wishes. A contemporary of Philip, struck by the universal homage which he received, says that the Spanish did "not merely love, not merely reverence, but absolutely adore him, and deem his commands so sacred, that they could not be violated without offence to God."[62]

alma á coger el desdichado fruto de su obstinada soberbia en las penas del Infierno, donde conoce con el castigo perpetuo el engaño de su vida." pp. 83, 84.

[60] One of the most eminent of living historians well says, "It was Philip's enthusiasm to embody the wrath of God against heretics." *Motley's Dutch Republic*, vol. ii. p. 155. "Philip lived but to enforce what he chose to consider the will of God." p. 285.

[61] "Personne vivante ne parloit à lui qu'à genoux, et disoit pour son excuse à cela qu'estant petit de corps, chacun eust paru plus eslevé que lui, outre qu'il sçavoit que les Espagnols estoient d'humeur si altiere et hautaine, qu'il estoit besoin qu'il les traittast de cette façon; et pour ce mesme ne se laissoit voir que peu souvent du peuple, n'y mesme des grands, sinon aux jours solemnels, et action necessaire, en cette façon; il faisoit ses commandemens à demy mot, et falloit que l'on devinast le reste, et que l'on ne manquast à bien accomplir toutes ses intentions; mesmes les gentilshommes de sa chambre, et autres qui approchoient plus près de sa personne, n'eussent osé parler devant luy s'il ne leur eust commandé, se tenant un tout seul à la fois près de la porte du lieu où il estoit, et demeurant nud teste incessamment, et appuyé contre une tapisserie, pour attendre et recevoir ses commandemens." *Mémoires de Cheverny*, pp. 352, 353, in *Petitot's Collection des Mémoires*, vol. xxxvi. Paris, 1823.

[62] These are the words of Contarini, as given in *Ranke's Ottoman and Spanish Empires*, London, 1843, p. 33. Sismondi, though unacquainted with this passage, observes in his *Literature of the South of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 273, London, 1846, that Philip, though "little entitled to praise, has yet been always regarded with enthusiasm by the Spaniards." About half a century after his death, Sommerdyck visited Spain, and in his curious account of that country he tells us that Philip was called "le Salomon de son siècle." *Aarsens de Sommerdyck, Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1665, 4to, pp. 63, 95. See also *Yañez, Memorias para la Historia de Felipe III.*, Madrid, 1723, p. 294. "El gran Felipe, aquel Sabio Salomon." Another writer likens him to Numa. "Hacia grandes progresos la piedad, á la qual se dedicaba tanto el Rey Don Felipe, que parecia su reynado en España lo que en Roma el de

That a man like Philip II., who never possessed a friend, and whose usual demeanour was of the most repulsive kind, a harsh master, a brutal parent, a bloody and remorseless ruler,—that he should be thus reverenced by a nation among whom he lived, and who had their eyes constantly on his actions; that this should have happened, is surely one of the most surprising, and, at first sight, one of the most inexplicable facts in modern history. Here we have a king who, though afflicted by every quality most calculated to excite terror and disgust, is loved far more than he is feared, and is the idol of a very great people during a very long reign. This is so remarkable as to deserve our serious attention; and in order to clear up the difficulty, it will be necessary to inquire into the causes of that spirit of loyalty which, during several centuries, has distinguished the Spaniards above every other European people.

One of the leading causes was undoubtedly the immense influence possessed by the clergy. For, the maxims inculcated by that powerful body have a natural tendency to make the people reverence their princes more than they would otherwise do. And that there is a real and practical connexion between loyalty and superstition, appears from the historical fact that the two feelings have nearly always flourished together and decayed together. Indeed, this is what we should expect on mere speculative grounds, seeing that both feelings are the product of those habits of veneration which make men submissive in their conduct and credulous in their belief.[63] Experience, therefore, as well as reason, points to this as a general law of the mind, which, in its operation, may be occasionally disturbed, but which holds good in a large majority of cases. Probably the only instance in which the principle fails is, when a despotic government so misunderstands its own interests as to offend the clergy, and separate itself from them. Whenever this is done, a struggle will arise between loyalty and superstition; the first being upheld by the political classes, the other by the spiritual classes. Such a warfare was exhibited in Scotland; but history does not afford many examples of it, and certainly it never took place in Spain, where, on the contrary, several circumstances occurred to cement the union between the Crown and the

Numa, despues de Rómulo." *Miñana, Continuacion de Mariana*, vol. ix. p. 241. When he died, "celebradas sus exêquias entre lágrimas y gemidos." vol. x. pp. 259, 260. We further learn from *Vanderhammen's Filipe Segundo*, Madrid, 1682, p. 120 rev., that the people ascribed to him "una grandeza adorable, y alguna cosa mas que las ordinarias á los demas hombres."

[63] "Habits of reverence, which, if carried into religion, cause superstition, and if carried into politics, cause despotism." *Buckle's History of Civilization*, vol. i. p. 486.

Church, and to accustom the people to look up to both with almost equal reverence.

By far the most important of these circumstances was the great Arab invasion, which drove the Christians into a corner of Spain, and reduced them to such extremities, that nothing but the strictest discipline and the most unhesitating obedience to their leaders, could have enabled them to make head against their enemies. Loyalty to their princes became not merely expedient, but necessary; for if the Spaniards had been disunited, they would, in the face of the fearful odds against which they fought, have had no chance of preserving their national existence. The long war which ensued, being both political and religious, caused an intimate alliance between the political and religious classes, since the kings and the clergy had an equal interest in driving the Mohammedans from Spain. During nearly eight centuries, this compact between Church and State was a necessity forced upon the Spaniards by the peculiarities of their position; and, after the necessity had subsided, it naturally happened that the association of ideas survived the original danger, and that an impression had been made upon the popular mind which it was hardly possible to efface.

Evidence of this impression, and of the unrivalled loyalty it produced, crowds upon us at every turn. In no other country, are the old ballads so numerous and so intimately connected with the national history. It has, however, been observed, that their leading characteristic is the zeal with which they inculcate obedience and devotion to princes, and that from this source, even more than from military achievements, they draw their most favorite examples of virtue.[64] In literature the first great manifestation of the Spanish mind was the poem of *The Cid*, written at the end of the twelfth century, in which we find fresh proof of that extraordinary loyalty which circumstances had forced upon the people.[65] The ecclesiastical coun-

[64] "More ballads are connected with Spanish history than with any other, and, in general, they are better. The most striking peculiarity of the whole mass is, perhaps, to be found in the degree in which it expresses the national character. Loyalty is constantly prominent. The Lord of Butrago sacrifices his own life to save that of his sovereign," &c. *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 133. "In the implicit obedience of the old Spanish knight, the order of the king was paramount to every consideration, even in the case of friendship and love. This code of obedience has passed into a proverb—'mas pesa el Rey que la sangre.'" *Ford's Spain*, p. 183. Compare the admirable little work of Mr. Lewes, *The Spanish Drama*, London, 1846, p. 120, "ballads full of war, loyalty, and love."

[65] See some interesting remarks in M. Tapia's *Civilizacion Española*, vol. i. He observes that, though cruelly persecuted by Alfonso, the first thing done by the Cid, after gaining a great victory, was to order one of his captains "para que lleve al rey Alfonso treinta caballos árabes bien ensillados, con sendas espadas pendientes de los arzones en señal de homenage, á *pesar del agravio que habia recibido*." p. 274. And

cils display a similar tendency; for, notwithstanding a few exceptions, no other church has been equally eager in upholding the rights of kings.[66] In civil legislation, we see the same principle at work; it being asserted, on high authority, that in no system of laws is loyalty carried to such extreme height as in the Spanish codes.[67] Even their dramatic writers were unwilling to represent an act of rebellion on the stage, lest they should appear to countenance what, in the eyes of every good Spaniard, was one of the most heinous of all offences.[68] Whatever the king came in contact with, was in some degree hallowed by his touch. No one might mount a horse which he had ridden;[69] no one might marry a mistress whom he had

at p. 280, "comedido y obediente súbdito á un rey que tan mal le habia tratado." Southey (*Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 268) notices with surprise that the Cid is represented in the old chronicles as "offering to kiss the feet of the king."

[66] "Le xvi• Concile de Tolède appelait les rois 'vicaires de Dieu et du Christ;' et rien n'est plus fréquent dans les conciles de cette époque que leurs exhortations aux peuples pour l'observation du serment de fidélité à leur roi, et leurs anathêmes contre les séditieux." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. i. p. 41. "Aparte de los asuntos de derecho civil y canonico y de otros varios que dicen relacion al gobierno de la iglesia, sobre los cuales se contienen en todos ellos disposiciones muy útiles y acertadas, la mayor parte de las leyes dictadas en estas asambleas tuvieron por objeto dar fuerza y estabilidad al poder real, proclamando su inviolabilidad y estableciendo graves penas contra los infractores; condenar las heregías," &c. *Antequera, Historia de la Legislacion Española*, p. 47.

[67] "Loyalty to a superior is carried to a more atrocious length by the Spanish law than I have seen it elsewhere." . . . . "The *Partidas* (P. 2, T. 13, L. 1) speaks of an old law whereby any man who openly wished to see the King dead, was condemned to death, and the loss of all that he had. The utmost mercy to be shown him was to spare his life and pluck out his eyes, that he might never see with them what he had desired. To defame the King is declared as great a crime as to kill him, and in like manner to be punished. The utmost mercy that could be allowed was to cut out the offender's tongue. P. 2, T. 13, L. 4." *Southey's Chronicle of the Cid*, p. 442. Compare *Johnston's Civil Law of Spain*, London, 1825, p. 269, on "Blasphemers of the King."

[68] Thus, Montalvan, the eminent poet and dramatist, who was born in 1602, "avoided, we are told, representing rebellion on the stage, lest he should seem to encourage it." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. p. 283. A similar spirit is exhibited in the plays of Calderon and of Lope de Vega. On the "Castilian loyalty" evinced in one of Calderon's comedies, see *Hallam's Literature of Europe*, 2d edit. London, 1843, vol. iii. p. 63; and as to Lope, see *Lewes on the Spanish Drama*, p. 78.

[69] "His Majesty's horses could never be used by any other person. One day, while Philip IV. was going in procession to the church of Our Lady of Atocha, the Duke of Medina-de-las-Torres offered to present him with a beautiful steed which belonged to him, and which was accounted the finest in Madrid; but the King declined the gift, because he should regret to render so noble an animal ever after useless." *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 372. Madame d'Aulnoy, who travelled in Spain in 1679, and who, from her position, had access to the best sources of information, was told of this piece of etiquette. "L'on m'a dit que lors que le Roy s'est servy d'un cheval, personne par respect ne le monte jamais." *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. p. 40. In the middle of the eighteenth century, I find another notice of this loyal custom, which, likely enough, is still a tradition in the Spanish stables. "If the king has once honoured a Pad so much as to cross his back, it is never to be used again by any body else." *A Tour through Spain, by Udal ap Rhys*, 2d edit. London, 1760, p. 15.

deserted.[70] Horse and mistress alike were sacred, and it would have been impious for any subject to meddle with what had been honoured by the Lord's anointed. Nor were such rules confined to the prince actually reigning. On the contrary, they survived him, and, working with a sort of posthumous force, forbad any woman whom he had taken as a wife, to marry, even after he was dead. She had been chosen by the king; such choice had already raised her above the rest of mortals; and the least she could do was to retire to a convent, and spend her life mourning over her irreparable loss. These regulations were enforced by custom rather than by law.[71] They were upheld by the popular will, and were the result of the excessive loyalty of the Spanish nation. Of that loyalty their writers often boast, and with good reason, since it was certainly matchless, and nothing seemed able to shake it. To bad kings and to good kings it equally applied. It was in full strength amid the glory of Spain in the sixteenth century; it was conspicuous when the nation was decaying in the seventeenth century; and it survived the shock of civil wars early in the eighteenth.[72] Indeed, the feeling had so worked itself into the

[70] Madame d'Aulnoy, who was very inquisitive respecting these matters, says (*Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 411), "Il y a une autre étiquette, c'est qu'après que le Roi a eu une Maitresse, s'il vient à la quitter, il faut qu'elle se fasse Religieuse, comme je vous l'ai déja écrit; et l'on m'a conté que le feu Roi s'estant amoureux d'une Dame du Palais, il fut un soir fraper doucement à la porte de sa chambre. Comme elle comprit que c'estoit lui, elle ne voulut pas lui ouvrir, et elle se contenta de lui dire au travers de la porte, *Baya, baya, con Dios, no quiero ser monja;* c'est à dire, 'Allez, allez, Dieu vous conduise, je n'ai pas envie d'estre Religieuse.'" So too Henry IV. of Castile, who came to the throne in the year 1454, made one of his mistresses "abbess of a convent in Toledo;" in this case to the general scandal, because, says Mr. Prescott, he first expelled "her predecessor, a lady of noble rank and irreproachable character." *Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 68.

[71] There is, however, one very remarkable old law, in the form of a canon enacted by the third Council of Saragossa, which orders that the royal widows "seront obligées à prendre l'habit de religieuses, et à s'enfermer dans un monastère pour le reste de leur vie." *Fleury, Histoire Ecclésiastique*, vol. ix. p. 104. In 1065 Ferdinand I. died; and, says the biographer of the Spanish Queens, "La Reyna sobrevivió: y parece, que muerto su marido, entró en algun Monasterio; lo que expressamos no tanto por *la costumbre antigua*, quanto por constar en la Memoria referida de la Iglesia de Leon, el dictado de 'Consagrada á Dios,' frasse que denota estado Religioso." *Florez, Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas*, Madrid, 1761, 4to, vol. i. p. 148. In 1667 it was a settled principle that "les reines d'Espagne n'en sortent point. Le couvent de *las Señoras descalças reales* est fondé afin que les reines veuves s'y enferment." *Discours du Comte de Castrillo à la Reine d'Espagne*, in *Mignet's Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 604, Paris, 1835, 4to. This valuable work consists for the most part of documents previously unpublished, many of which are taken from the Archives at Simancas. To the critical historian, it would have been more useful if the original Spanish had been given.

[72] See some good remarks on San Phelipe, in *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. pp. 213, 214, which might easily be corroborated by other testimony; as, for instance, Lafuente, under the year 1710: "Ni el abandono de la Francia, ni la prolongacion y los azares de la guerra, ni los sacrificios pecuniarios y

traditions of the country, as to become not only a national passion, but almost an article of national faith. Clarendon, in his History of that great English Rebellion, the like of which, as he well knew, could never have happened in Spain, makes on this subject a just and pertinent remark. He says that a want of respect for kings is regarded by the Spaniards as a "monstrous crime;" "submissive reverence to their princes being a vital part of their religion."[73]

These, then, were the two great elements of which the Spanish character was compounded. Loyalty and superstition; reverence for their kings and reverence for their clergy were the leading principles which influenced the Spanish mind, and governed the march of Spanish history. The peculiar and unexampled circumstances under which they arose, have been just indicated; and having seen their origin, we will now endeavour to trace their consequences. Such an examination of results will be the more important, not only because nowhere else in Europe have these feelings been so strong, so permanent, and so unmixed, but also because Spain, being seated at the further extremity of the Continent, from which it is cut off by the Pyrenees, has, from physical causes, as well as from moral ones, come little into contact with other nations.[74] The course

personales de tantos años, nada bastaba á entibiar el amor de los castellanos á su rey Felipe V." (*Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 258); and Berwick (*Mémoires*, vol. ii. p. 114, edit. Paris, 1778): "La fidélité inouie des Espagnols;" and, nine years earlier, a letter from Louville to Torcy: "Le mot révolte, pris dans une acception rigoureuse, n'a pas de sens en Espagne." *Louville, Mémoires sur l'établissement de la Maison de Bourbon en Espagne*, edit. Paris, 1818, vol. i. p. 128. See also *Memoirs of Ripperda*, London, 1740, p. 58; and *Mémoires de Gramont*, vol. ii. p. 77, edit. Petitot, Paris, 1827. All these passages illustrate Spanish loyalty in the eighteenth century, except the reference to Gramont, which concerns the seventeenth, and which should be compared with the following observations of Madame d'Aulnoy, who writes from Madrid in 1679: "Quelques richesses qu'ayent les grands Seigneurs, quelque grande que soit leur fierté ou leur présomption, ils obéïssent aux moindres ordres du Roy, avec une exactitude et un respect que l'on ne peut assez loüer. Sur le premier ordre ils partent, ils reviennent, ils vont en prison, ou en exil, sans se plaindre. Il ne se peut trouver une soûmission, et une obéïssance plus parfaite, ni un amour plus sincère, que celui des Espagnols pour leur Roi. Ce nom leur est sacré, et pour réduire le peuple à tout ce que l'on souhaite, il suffit de dire, 'Le Roi le veut.'" *D'Aulnoy, Voyage*, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257.

[73] "And Olivarez had been heard to censure very severely the duke's (Buckingham's) familiarity and want of respect towards the prince, a crime monstrous to the Spaniard." . . . . "Their submiss reverence to their princes being a vital part of their religion." *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, ed. Oxford, 1843, p. 15. For the religion of loyalty, in an earlier period, see *Florez, Reynas, Catholicas*, vol. i. p. 421: "La persona del Rey fue mirada de sus fieles vassallos con respeto tan sagrado." that resistance was "una especie de sacrilegio."

[74] These impediments to intercourse were once deemed almost invincible. Fontenay-Mareuil, who visited Spain in 1612, and was not a little proud of the achievement, says, "Au reste, parcequ'on ne va pas aussy ordinairement en Espagne qu'en France, en Italie et ailleurs; et qu'estant comme en un coin, et séparée du reste du monde par la mer ou par les Pyrénées, on n'en a, ce me semble,

of affairs being, therefore, undisturbed by foreign habits, it becomes easier to discover the pure and natural consequences of superstition and loyalty, two of the most powerful and disinterested feelings which have ever occupied the human heart, and to whose united action we may clearly trace the leading events in the history of Spain.

The results of this combination were, during a considerable period, apparently beneficial, and certainly magnificent. For, the church and the crown making common cause with each other, and being inspirited by the cordial support of the people, threw their whole soul into their enterprises, and displayed an ardour which could hardly fail to insure success. Gradually advancing from the north of Spain, the Christians, fighting their way inch by inch, pressed on till they reached the southern extremity, completely subdued the Mohammedans, and brought the whole country under one rule and one creed. This great result was achieved late in the fifteenth century, and it cast an extraordinary lustre on the Spanish name.[75] Spain, long occupied by her own religious wars, had hitherto been little noticed by foreign powers, and had possessed little leisure to notice them. Now, however, she formed a compact and undivided monarchy, and at once assumed an important position in European affairs.[76] During the next hundred years, her power advanced with a speed of which the world had seen no example since the days of the Roman Empire. So late as 1478 Spain was still broken up into independent and often hostile states ; Granada was possessed by the Mohammedans ; the throne of Castile was occupied by one prince, the throne of

guere de connoissance, j'ay pensé que je devois faire icy une petite digression pour dire ce que j'en ay appris dans ce voyage et despuis." *Mémoires de Fontenay-Mareuil*, in *Collection des Mémoires par Petitot*, vol. L. p. 169, 1e Série, Paris, 1826. Seventy years later, another writer on Spain says of the Pyrenees, "Ces montagnes, sont à nos voyageurs modernes, ce qu'étoit aux anciens mariniers le *Non plus ultra* et les colomnes du grand Hercule." *L'Estat de l'Espagne*, Geneve, 1681, Epistre, p. ii. This work, little known, and not much worth knowing, forms the third volume of *Le Prudent Voyageur.*

[75] "Con razon se miró la conquista de Granada, no como un acontecimiento puramente español, sino como un suceso que interesaba al mundo. Con razon tambien se regocijó toda la cristiandad. Hacia medio siglo que otros mahometanos se habian apoderado de Constantinopla; la caida de la capital y del imperio bizantino en poder de los turcos habia llenado de terror á la Europa; pero la Europa se consoló al sáber que en España habia concluido la dominacion de los musulmanes." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xi. p. 15.

[76] "L'Espagne, long-temps partagée en plusieurs états, et comme étrangère au reste de l'Europe, devint tout-à-coup une puissance redoutable, faisant pencher pour elle la balance de la politique." *Koch, Tableau des Révolutions de l'Europe*, Paris, 1823, vol. i. p. 362. On the relation between this and some changes in literature which corresponded to it, see *Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 148-152, where there are some ingenious, though perhaps scarcely tenable, speculations.

Aragon by another. Before the year 1590, not only were these fragments firmly consolidated into one kingdom, but acquisitions were made abroad so rapidly as to endanger the independence of Europe. The history of Spain, during this period, is the history of one long and uninterrupted success. That country, recently torn by civil wars, and distracted by hostile creeds, was able in three generations to annex to her territory the whole of Portugal, Navarre, and Roussillon. By diplomacy, or by force of arms, she acquired Artois and Franche Comté, and the Netherlands; also the Milanese, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Islands, and the Canaries. One of her kings was emperor of Germany; while his son influenced the councils of England, whose queen he married. The Turkish power, then one of the most formidable in the world, was broken and beaten back on every side. The French monarchy was humbled. French armies were constantly worsted; Paris was once in imminent jeopardy; and a king of France, after being defeated on the field, was taken captive, and led prisoner to Madrid. Out of Europe, the deeds of Spain were equally wonderful. In America, the Spaniards became possessed of territories which covered sixty degrees of latitude, and included both the tropics. Besides Mexico, Central America, Venezuela, New Granada, Peru, and Chili, they conquered Cuba, San Domingo, Jamaica, and other islands. In Africa, they obtained Ceuta, Melilla, Oran, Bougiah, and Tunis, and overawed the whole coast of Barbary. In Asia, they had settlements on each side of the Deccan; they held part of Malacca; and they established themselves in the Spice Islands. Finally, by the conquest of the noble archipelago of the Philippines, they connected their most distant acquisitions, and secured a communication between every part of that enormous empire which girdled the world.

In connection with this, a great military spirit arose, such as no other modern nation has ever exhibited. All the intellect of the country which was not employed in the service of the Church, was devoted to the profession of arms. Indeed, the two pursuits were often united; and it is said that the custom of ecclesiastics going to war, was practised in Spain long after it was abandoned in other parts of Europe.[77] At all events, the general tendency is obvious. A mere list of successful battles and sieges in the sixteenth and part of the fifteenth century, would prove the vast superiority of the Spaniards, in

[77] "The holy war with the infidels" (Mohammedans) "perpetuated the unbecoming spectacle of militant ecclesiastics among the Spaniards, to a still later period, and long after it had disappeared from the rest of civilized Europe." *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. 162.

this respect, over their contemporaries, and would show how much genius they had expended in maturing the arts of destruction. Another illustration, if another were required, might be drawn from the singular fact, that since the time of ancient Greece, no country has produced so many eminent literary men who were also soldiers. Calderon, Cervantes, and Lope de Vega risked their lives in fighting for their country. The military profession was also adopted by many other celebrated authors, among whom may be mentioned, Argote de Molina, Acuña, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, Boscan, Carrillo, Cetina, Ercilla, Espinel, Francisco de Figueroa, Garcilasso de la Vega, Guillen de Castro, Hita, Hurtado de Mendoza, Marmol Carvajal, Perez de Guzman, Pulgar, Rebolledo, Roxas, and Virues; all of whom bore, in this manner, unconscious testimony to the spirit by which Spain was universally pervaded.

Here, then, we have a combination which many readers will still consider with favour, and which, at the time it occurred, excited the admiration, albeit the terror, of Europe. We have a great people glowing with military, patriotic, and religious ardour, whose fiery zeal was heightened, rather than softened, by a respectful obedience to their clergy, and by a chivalrous devotion to their kings. The energy of Spain, being thus both animated and controlled, became wary as well as eager; and to this rare union of conflicting qualities we must ascribe the great deeds which have just been related. But the unsound part of a progress of this sort is, that it depends too much upon individuals, and therefore cannot be permanent. Such a movement can only last as long as it is headed by able men. When, however, competent leaders are succeeded by incompetent ones, the system immediately falls to the ground, simply because the people have been accustomed to supply to every undertaking the necessary zeal, but have not been accustomed to supply the skill by which the zeal is guided. A country in this state, if governed by hereditary princes, is sure to decay; inasmuch as, in the ordinary course of affairs, incapable rulers must sometimes arise. Directly this happens, the deterioration begins; for the people, habituated to indiscriminate loyalty, will follow wherever they are led, and will yield to foolish counsels the same obedience that they had before paid to wise ones. This leads us to perceive the essential difference between the civilization of Spain and the civilization of England. We, in England, are a critical, dissatisfied, and captious people, constantly complaining of our rulers, suspecting their schemes, discussing their measures in a hostile spirit, allowing very little power either to the Church or to the Crown, managing our own affairs in our

own way, and ready, on the slightest provocation, to renounce that conventional, lip-deep loyalty, which, having never really touched our hearts, is a habit lying on the surface, but not a passion rooted in the mind. The loyalty of Englishmen is not of that sort which would induce them to sacrifice their liberties to please their prince, nor does it ever, for a moment, blind them to a keen sense of their own interests. The consequence is, that our progress is uninterrupted, whether our kings are good or whether they are bad. Under either condition, the great movement goes on. Our sovereigns have had their full share of imbecility and of crime. Still, even men like Henry III. and Charles II. were unable to do us harm. In the same way, during the eighteenth and many years of the nineteenth century, when our improvement was very conspicuous, our rulers were very incompetent. Anne and the first two Georges were grossly ignorant; they were wretchedly educated, and nature had made them at once weak and obstinate. Their united reigns lasted nearly sixty years; and after they had passed away, we, for another period of sixty years, were governed by a prince who was long incapacitated by disease, but of whom we must honestly say that, looking at his general policy, he was least mischievous when he was most incapable. This is not the place to expose the monstrous principles advocated by George III., and to which posterity will do that justice from which contemporary writers are apt to shrink; but it is certain that neither his contracted understanding, nor his despotic temper, nor his miserable superstition, nor the incredible baseness of that ignoble voluptuary who succeeded him on the throne, could do aught to stop the march of English civilization or to stem the tide of English prosperity. We went on our way rejoicing, caring for none of these things. We were not to be turned aside from our path by the folly of our rulers, because we know full well that we hold our own fate in our own hands, and that the English people possess within themselves those resources and that fertility of contrivance by which alone men can be made great, and happy, and wise.

In Spain, however, directly the government slackened its hold, the nation fell to pieces.[78] During that prosperous career

[78] A learned Spanish lawyer has made some remarks which are worth quoting, and which contain a curious mixture of truth and error: "Comment la monarchie espagnole fut-elle déchue de tant de grandeur et de gloire? Comment perdit-elle les Pays-Bas et le Portugal dans le dix-septième siècle, et s'y trouva-t-elle réduite à n' être qu'un squelette de ce qu'elle avait éte auparavant? Comment vit-elle disparaître plus d'une moitié de sa population? Comment, possédant les mines inépuisables du Nouveau Monde, les revenus de l'état n'étaient à peine que de six millions de ducats sous le règne de Philippe III? Comment son agriculture et son industrie furent-elles ruinées? et comment presque tout son commerce passa-t-il dans les mains de ses plus grands ennemis? Ce n'est point ici le lieu d' examiner les

which has just been noticed, the Spanish throne was invariably filled by very able and intelligent princes. Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V. and Philip II., formed a line of sovereigns not to be matched in any other country for a period of equal length. By them, the great things were effected, and by their care, Spain apparently flourished. But, what followed when they were withdrawn from the scene, showed how artificial all this was, and how rotten, even to the core, is that system of government which must be fostered before it can thrive, and which, being based on the loyalty and reverence of the people, depends for success not on the ability of the nation, but on the skill of those to whom the interests of the nation are intrusted.

Philip II., the last of the great kings of Spain, died in 1598, and after his death the decline was portentously rapid.[79] From 1598 to 1700, the throne was occupied by Philip III., Philip IV., and Charles II. The contrast between them and their predecessors was most striking.[80] Philip III. and Philip IV. were idle, ignorant, infirm of purpose, and passed their lives in the lowest and most sordid pleasures. Charles II., the last of that Austrian dynasty which had formerly been so distinguished, possessed nearly every defect which can make a man

véritables causes d'une métamorphose si triste; il suffira d'indiquer *que tous les grands empires contiennent en eux-mêmes le germe de leur dissolution,*" &c. "D'ailleurs les successeurs de ces deux Monarques" (Charles V. and Philip II.) "n'eurent point les mêmes talens, ni les ducs de Lerme et d'Olivarès, leurs ministres, ceux du cardinal Cisneros; et il est difficile de calculer l'influence de la bonne ou de la mauvaise direction des affaires sur la prospérité ou les malheurs des nations. Sous une même forme de gouvernement, quel qu'il puisse être, *elles tombent ou se relèvent suivant la capacité des hommes qui les dirigent*, et d'après les circonstances où ils agissent." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès*, Bordeaux, 1815, pp. 265–267. Of the two passages which I have marked with italics, the first is a clumsy, though common, attempt to explain complicated phenomena by a metaphor which saves the trouble of generalizing their laws. The other passage, though perfectly true as regards Spain, does not admit of that universal application which M. Sempere supposes; inasmuch as in England, and in the United States of America, national prosperity has steadily advanced, even when the rulers have been very incapable men.

[79] "With Philip II. ends the greatness of the kingdom, which from that period declined with fearful rapidity." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 87. And Ortiz (*Compendio*, vol. vii., Prologo, p. 6) classes together "la muerte de Felipe II. y principios de nuestra decadencia." The same judicious historian elsewhere observes (vol. vi. p. 211), that if Philip III. had been equal to his father, Spain would have continued to flourish. Several of the more recent Spanish writers, looking at the heavy expenses caused by the policy of Philip II., and at the debts which he incurred, have supposed that the decline of the country began in the latter years of his reign. But the truth is, that no great nation ever was, or ever will be, ruined by the prodigality of its government. Such extravagance causes general discomfort, and therefore ought not to be tolerated; but, if this were the place for so long an argument, I could easily show that its other and more permanent inconveniences are nothing like what they are commonly supposed to be.

[80] "Abstraido Felipe III. en devociones, amante Felipe IV. de regocijos, mortificado Carlos II. por padecimientos, cuidáronse poco ó nada de la gobernacion del Estado, y confiáronla á validos altaneros, codiciosos, incapaces, y de muy funesta memoria." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. i. p. 33.

ridiculous and contemptible. His mind and his person were such as, in any nation less loyal than Spain, would have exposed him to universal derision. Although his death took place while he was still in the prime of life, he looked like an old and worn-out debauchee. At the age of thirty-five, he was completely bald ; he had lost his eyebrows ; he was paralyzed ; he was epileptic ; and he was notoriously impotent.[81] His general appearance was absolutely revolting, and was that of a drivelling idiot. To an enormous mouth, he added a nether jaw protruding so hideously that his teeth could never meet, and he was unable to masticate his food.[82] His ignorance would be incredible, if it were not substantiated by unimpeachable evidence. He did not know the names of the large towns, or even of the provinces, in his dominions ; and during the war with France he was heard to pity England for losing cities which in fact formed part of his own territory.[83] Finally, he was immersed in the most grovelling superstition ; he believed himself to be constantly tempted by the devil ; he allowed himself to be exorcised as one possessed by evil spirits ; and

[81] "Sans espérance de posterité." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. i. p. 419. "Incapaz de tener hijos." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vi. p. 560. See also *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. i. p. 82 ; and the allusions in *Lettres de Madame de Villars*, edit. Amsterdam, 1759, pp. 53, 120, 164. She was ambassadress in Spain in the reign of Charles II. M. Lafuente, who, if I rightly remember, never quotes these interesting letters, and who, indeed, with very few exceptions, has used none but Spanish authorities, ventures nevertheless to observe that "La circunstancia de no haber tenido sucesion, falta que en general se achabaca mas al rey que á la reina," &c. *Historia de España*, vol. xvii. pp. 198, 199, Madrid, 1856. According to the biographer of the Spanish Queens, some persons imputed this to sorcery, "y aun se dijo si intervenia maleficio." *Florez, Memorias de las Reynas Catholicas*, vol. ii. p. 973, Madrid, 1761, 4to.

[82] In 1696, Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, writes: "He has a ravenous stomach, and swallows all he eats whole, for his nether jaw stands so much out, that his two rows of teeth cannot meet; to compensate which, he has a prodigious wide throat, so that a gizzard or liver of a hen passes down whole, and, his weak stomach not being able to digest it, he voids it in the same manner." *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, London, 1840, p. 79 ; a very valuable collection of original documents, utterly unknown to any Spanish historian I have met with. Some curious notices of the appearance of Charles II. in his childhood may be seen, published for the first time, in *Mignet's Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, Paris, 1835–1842, 4to, vol. i. pp. 294, 295, 310, 396, 404, 410, vol. ii. p. 130, vol. iii. pp. 418, 419, 423. See also vol. iv. p. 636, for an instance of his taciturnity, which was almost the only mark of sense he ever gave, "Le roi l'écouta, et ne lui répondit rien."

[83] "Le Roy demeuroit dans une profonde ignorance et de ses affaires, et même des Etats de sa couronne ; à peine connoissoit-il quelles étoient les places qui lui appartenoient hors du continent d'Espagne." . . . "La perte de Barcelone lui fut plus sensible qu'aucune autre, parce que cette ville, capitale de la Catalogne, et située dans le continent de l'Espagne, lui étoit plus connue que les villes de Flandre, dont il ignoroit l'importance au point de croire que Mons appartenoit au roi d'Angleterre, et de le plaindre lorsque le Roi fit la conquête de cette province." *Mémoires du Marquis de Torcy*, vol. i. pp. 19, 23, edit. Petitot, Paris, 1828.

he would not retire to rest, except with his confessor and two friars, who had to lie by his side during the night.[84]

Now it was that men might clearly see on how sandy a foundation the grandeur of Spain was built. When there were able sovereigns, the country prospered; when there were weak ones, it declined. Nearly every thing that had been done by the great princes of the sixteenth century, was undone by the little princes of the seventeenth. So rapid was the fall of Spain, that in only three reigns after the death of Philip II., the most powerful monarchy existing in the world was depressed to the lowest point of debasement, was insulted with impunity by foreign nations, was reduced more than once to bankruptcy, was stripped of her fairest possessions, was held up to public opprobrium, was made a theme on which school-boys and moralists loved to declaim respecting the uncertainty of human affairs, and, at length, was exposed to the bitter humiliation of seeing her territories mapped out and divided by a treaty in which she took no share, but the provisions of which she was unable to resent.[85] Then, truly, did she drink to the dregs the cup of her own shame. Her glory had departed from her, she was smitten down and humbled. Well might a Spaniard of that time who compared the present with the past, mourn over his country, the chosen abode of chivalry and romance, of valour and of loyalty. The mistress of the world, the queen of the ocean, the terror of nations, was gone; her power was gone, no more to return. To her might be applied that bitter lamentation, which, on a much slighter occasion, the greatest of the sons of men has put into the mouth of a dying statesman. Good reason, indeed, had the sorrowing patriot to weep, as one who refused to be comforted, for the fate of his earth, his realm, his land of dear souls, his dear, dear land, long dear for her reputation through the world, but now leased out like to a tenement or pelting farm.[86]

[84] "Fancying every thing that is said or done to be a temptation of the devil, and never thinking himself safe but with his confessor, and two friars by his side, whom he makes lie in his chamber every night." *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, p. 102. On account, no doubt, of this affection for monks, he is declared by a Spanish historian to have possessed a "corazon pio y religioso." *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. p. 20. The best notice of the exorcism will be found in *Lafuente's Historia de España*, vol. xvii. pp. 294–309, where there is an entire chapter, headed "Los Hechizos del Rey."

[85] "La foiblesse de l'Espagne ne permettoit pas à son roi de se ressentir du traitement dont il croyoit à propos de se plaindre." *Mémoires de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 81. Or, as an eminent native writer bitterly says, "Las naciones estrangeras disponiendo de la monarquia española como de bienes sin dueño." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iii. p. 167.

[86] "This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise:

It would be a weary and unprofitable task to relate the losses and disasters of Spain during the seventeenth century. The immediate cause of them was undoubtedly bad government and unskilful rulers; but the real and overriding cause, which determined the whole march and tone of affairs, was the existence of that loyal and reverential spirit which made the people submit to what any other country would have spurned, and, by accustoming them to place extreme confidence in individual men, reduced the nation to that precarious position in which a succession of incompetent princes was sure to overthrow the edifice which competent ones had built up.[87]

The increasing influence of the Spanish Church was the first and most conspicuous consequence of the declining energy of the Spanish government. For, loyalty and superstition being the main ingredients of the national character, and both of them being the result of habits of reverence, it was to be expected that, unless the reverence could be weakened, what was taken from one ingredient would be given to the other. As, therefore, the Spanish government, during the seventeenth century, did, owing to its extreme imbecility, undoubtedly lose some part of the hold it possessed over the affections of the people, it naturally happened that the Church stepped in, and, occupying the vacant place, received what the crown had for-

This fortress, built by nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war;
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands;
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
Fear'd by their breed, and famous by their birth,
Renowned for their deeds as far from home,
For Christian service and true chivalry,
As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry
Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's son:
This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world,
Is now leas'd out, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting farm."

[87] The Spanish theory of government is well stated in the following passage in Davila's Life of Philip III. The remarks apply to Philip II. "Que solo havia gobernado sin Validos ni Privados, tomando para sí solo, como primera causa de su gobierno, el mandar, prohibir, premiar, castigar, hacer mercedes, conocer sugetos, elegir Ministros, dar oficios, y tener como espiritu, que andaba sobre las aguas, ciencia y providencia de todo, para que nada se hiciese sin su saber y querer; no sirviendo los Ministros mas que de poner por obra (obedeciendo) lo que su Señor mandaba, velando sobre cada uno, como pastor de sus ovejas, para ver la verdad con que executan sus Mandamientos y Acuerdos." *Davila, Historia de Felipe Tercero*, lib. i. pp. 22, 23.

feited. Besides this, the weakness of the executive government encouraged the pretensions of the priesthood, and emboldened the clergy to acts of usurpation, which the Spanish sovereigns of the sixteenth century, superstitious though they were, would not have allowed for a single moment.[88] Hence the very striking fact, that, while in every other great country, Scotland alone excepted, the power of the Church diminished during the seventeenth century, it, in Spain, actually increased. The results of this are well worth the attention, not only of philosophic students of history, but also of every one who cares for the welfare of his own country, or feels an interest in the practical management of public affairs.

For twenty-three years after the death of Philip II., the throne was occupied by Philip III., a prince as distinguished by his weakness as his predecessors had been by their ability. During more than a century, the Spaniards had been accustomed to be entirely ruled by their kings, who, with indefatigable industry, personally superintended the most important transactions, and in other matters exercised the strictest supervision over their ministers. But Philip III., whose listlessness almost amounted to fatuity, was unequal to such labour, and delegated the powers of government to Lerma, who wielded supreme authority for twenty years.[89] Among a people so loyal as the Spaniards, this unusual proceeding could not fail to weaken the executive; since, in their eyes, the immediate and irresistible interference of the sovereign was essential to the management of affairs, and to the well-being of the nation.

[88] Even Philip II. always retained a certain ascendency over the ecclesiastical hierarchy, though he was completely subjugated by ecclesiastical prejudices. "While Philip was thus willing to exalt the religious order, already far too powerful, he was careful that it should never gain such a height as would enable it to overtop the royal authority." *Prescott's History of Philip II.*, vol. iii. p. 235. "Pero este monarca tan afecto á la Inquisicion mientras le servia para sus fines, sabía bien tener á raya al Santo Oficio cuando intentaba invadir ó usurpar las preeminencias de la autoridad real, ó arrogarse un poder desmedido." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. p. 114.

[89] "Por cuyo absoluto poderío se executaba todo." *Yañez, Memorias para la Historia de Felipe III.*, Prologo, p. 150. "An absoluteness in power over king and kingdom." Letter from Sir Charles Cornwallis to the Lords of the Council in England, dated Valladolid, May 31, 1605, in *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 73, London, 1725, folio. "Porque no era fácil imaginar entonces, ni por fortuna se ha repetido el ejemplo despuès, que hubiera un monarca tan pródigo de autoridad, y al propio tiempo tan indolente, que por no tomarse siquiera el trabajo de firmar los documentos de Estado, quisiera dar á la firma de un vasallo suyo la misma autoridad que á la suya propia, y que advirtiera y ordenára, como ordenó Felipe III. á todos sus consejos, tribunales, y súbditos, que dieran á los despachos firmados por el duque de Lerma el mismo cumplimiento y obediencia, y los ejecutáran y guardáran con el mismo respeto que si fueran firmados por él." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. pp. 449, 450. "El duque de Lerma, su valído, era el que gobernaba el reino solo," vol. xvii. p. 332. His power lasted from 1598 to 1618. *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vi. pp. 290, 325.

Lerma, well aware of this feeling, and conscious that his own position was very precarious, naturally desired to strengthen himself by additional support, so that he might not entirely depend on the favour of the king. He therefore formed a strict alliance with the clergy, and, from the beginning to the end of his long administration, did every thing in his power to increase their authority.[90] Thus the influence lost by the crown was gained by the Church, to whose advice a deference was paid even greater than had been accorded by the superstitious princes of the sixteenth century. In this arrangement, the interests of the people were of course unheeded. Their welfare formed no part of the general scheme. On the contrary, the clergy, grateful to a government so sensible of their merits, and so religiously disposed, used all their influence in its favour; and the yoke of a double despotism was riveted more firmly than ever upon the neck of that miserable nation, which was now about to reap the bitter fruit of a long and ignominious submission.[91]

The increasing power of the Spanish Church during the seventeenth century, may be proved by nearly every description of evidence. The convents and churches multiplied with such alarming speed, and their wealth became so prodigious, that even the Cortes, broken and humbled though they were, ven-

[90] Davila (*Historia de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. p. 41), after eulogizing the personal qualities of Lerma, adds, "Y sin estas grandes partes tuvo demostraciones christianas, manifestandolo en los conventos, iglesias, colegiatas, hospitales, ermitas y catedras, que dejó fundadas, en que gastó, como me consta de los libros de su Contaduría, un millon ciento cincuenta y dos mil doscientos ochenta y tres ducados." After such monstrous prodigality, Watson might well say, in his rather superficial, but, on the whole, well-executed History, that Lerma showed "the most devoted attachment to the church," and "conciliated the favour of ecclesiastics." *Watson's History of Philip III.*, London, 1839, pp. 4, 8, 46, 224.

[91] The only energy Philip III. ever displayed, was in seconding the efforts of his minister to extend the influence of the Church; and hence, according to a Spanish historian, he was "monarque le plus pieux parmi tous ceux qui ont occupé le trône d'Espagne depuis saint Ferdinand." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. i. p. 245. "El principal cuidado de nuestro Rey era tener á Dios por amigo, grangear y beneficiar su gracia, para que le asistiese propicio en quanto obrase y dixese. De aqui tuvieron principio tantos dones ofrecidos á Dios, tanta fundacion de Conventos, y favores hechos á Iglesias y Religiones." *Davila, Historia de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. p. 170. His wife, Margaret, was equally active. See *Florez, Reynas Catholicas*, vol. ii. pp. 915, 916. "Demas de los frutos que dió para el Cielo y para la tierra nuestra Reyna, tuvo otros de ambas lineas en fundaciones de Templos y obras de piedad para bien del Reyno y de la Iglesia. En Valladolid fundó el Convento de las Franciscas Descalzas. En Madrid trasladó á las Agustinas Recoletas de Santa Isabel desde la calle del Principe al sitio en que hoy estan. Protegió con sus limosnas la fundacion de la Iglesia de Carmelitas Descalzas de Santa Ana; y empezó á fundar el Real Convento de las Augustinas Recoletas con titulo de la Encarnacion en este misma Corte, cuya primera piedra se puso á 10 de Junio del 1611. En la parroquia de S. Gil junto al Palacio introdujo los Religiosos Franciscos, cuyo Convento persevera hoy con la misma advocacion." How the country fared, while all this was going on, we shall presently see.

.ured on a public remonstrance. In 1626, only five years after the death of Philip III., they requested that some means might be taken to prevent what they described as a constant invasion on the part of the Church. In this remarkable document, the Cortes, assembled at Madrid, declared that never a day passed in which laymen were not deprived of their property to enrich ecclesiastics ; and the evil, they said, had grown to such a height, that there were then in Spain upwards of nine thousand monasteries, besides nunneries.[92] This extraordinary statement has, I believe, never been contradicted, and its probability is enhanced by several other circumstances. Davila, who lived in the reign of Philip III., affirms that in 1623, the two orders of Dominicans and Franciscans alone amounted to thirty-two thousand.[93] The other clergy increased in proportion. Before the death of Philip III., the number of ministers performing in the Cathedral of Seville had swelled to one hundred ; and in the diocese of Seville, there were fourteen thousand chaplains ; in the diocese of Calahorra, eighteen thousand.[94] Nor did there seem any prospect of remedying this frightful condition. The richer the Church became, the greater was the inducement for laymen to enter it ; so that there appeared to be no limit to the extent to which the sacrifice of temporal interests might

[92] The burden of the petition was, "Que se tratasse con mas veras de poner limite a los bienes, que se sacauan cada dia del braço Seglar al Eclesiastico, enflaqueciendo no tan solo el patrimonio Real, mas el comun, pues siendo aquel libre de pechos, contribuciones, y gauelas, alojamientos, huespedes, y otros grauamenes mayores, presidios, guerras, y soldados." . . . . "Que las Religiones eran muchas, las Mendicantes en excesso, y el Clero en grande multitud. Que auia en España 9088 monasterios, aun no cōtando los de Monjas. Que yuan metiēdo poco a poco, con dotaciones, cofradias, capellanias, o con cōpras, a todo el Reyno en su poder. Que se atajasse tanto mal. Que huuiesse numero en los frayles, moderacion en los Cōuentos, y aun en los Clerigos seglares." *Cespedes, Historia de Don Felipe IV.*, Barcelona, 1634, folio, lib. vii. cap. 9, p. 272 rev. This is the only noticeable passage in an unusually dull chronicle, which, though professing to be a history of Philip IV., is confined to the first few years of his reign.

[93] "En este año, que iba escribiendo esta Historia, tenian las Ordenes de Santo Domingo, y S. Francisco en España, treinta y dos mil Religiosos, y los Obispados de Calahorra y Pamploña veinte y quatro mil clerigos; pues qué tendran las demas Religiones, y los demas Obispados?" *Davila, Historia de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. p. 215. See also cap. xcvii. pp. 248, 249; and, on the increase of convents, see *Yañez, Memorias para la Historia de Felipe III.*, pp. 240, 268, 304, 305.

[94] "The reign of Philip III., surnamed from his piety the Good, was the golden age of Churchmen. Though religious foundations were already too numerous, great additions were made to them; and in those which already existed, new altars or chancels were erected. Thus, the duke of Lerma founded seven monasteries and two collegiate churches; thus, also, the diocese of Calahorra numbered 18,000 chaplains, Seville 14,000. How uselessly the ministers of religion were multiplied, will appear still more clearly from the fact that the cathedral of Seville alone had a hundred, when half-a-dozen would assuredly have been sufficient for the public offices of devotion." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 274. According to the passage quoted in note 93, from Davila, there were twenty-four thousand "clerigos" in the two dioceses of Calahorra and Pamplona.

be carried.[95] Indeed, the movement, notwithstanding its suddenness, was perfectly regular, and was facilitated by a long train of preceding circumstances. Since the fifth century, the course of events, as we have already seen, invariably tended in this direction, and insured to the clergy a dominion which no other nation would have tolerated. The minds of the people being thus prepared, the people themselves looked on in silence at what it would have been impious to oppose ; for, as a Spanish historian observes, every proposition was deemed heretical which tended to lessen the amount, or even to check the growth of that enormous wealth which was now possessed by the Spanish Church.[96]

How natural all this was, appears also from another fact of considerable interest. In Europe generally, the seventeenth century was distinguished by the rise of a secular literature in which ecclesiastical theories were disregarded ; the most influential writers, such as Bacon and Descartes, being laymen, rather hostile to the Church than friendly to it, and composing their works with views purely temporal. But in Spain, no change of this sort occurred.[97] In that country, the Church

[95] "Entre tanto crecia por instantes y se aumentaba prodigiosamente el poder y la autoridad de la iglesia. Sus pingües riquezas desmembraban de una manera considerable las rentas de la corona; y el estado eclesiástico, que muchos abrazaron en un principio á consecuencia de las desgracias y calamidades de la época, fué despues el mas solicitado por las inmensas ventajas que ofrecia su condicion comparada con la de las clases restantes." *Antequera, Historia de la Legislacion*, pp. 223, 224. See also in *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion*, Madrid, 1775-1777, vol. i. p. 465, and vol. iv. p. 219, a statement made by the University of Toledo in 1619 or 1620, that "hay doblados religiosos, clerigos y estudiantes; porque ya *no hallan otro modo de vivir, ni de poder sustentarse*." If the eye of M. Lafuente had lighted upon this and other passages, which I shall shortly quote from contemporary observers, he would, I think, have expressed himself much more strongly than he has done respecting this period, in his recent brilliant, but unsatisfactory, History of Spain. On the great wealth of the convents in 1679, when the rest of the country was steeped in poverty, see a letter dated Madrid, July 25, 1679, in *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. p 251. But the earliest evidence I have met with is in a letter, written in 1609, to Prince Henry of England, by Sir Charles Cornwallis, the English ambassador at Madrid. "The furniture of their churches here, and the riches and lustre of their sepulchures made in every monasterie (the general povertye of this kingdome considered), are almost incredible. The laity of this nation may say with Davyde (though in another sense), 'Zelus domus tuæ comedit me :' for, assuredly, the riches of the Temporall hath in a manner all fallen into the mouthes and devouring throates of the Spiritual." *Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. iii. p. 10, London, 1725, folio.

[96] "Deux millions de ducats, que le clergé possédait sous le règne de Charles V., étaient réputés comme un revenu exorbitant; et, un demisiècle plus tard, lorsque ces revenus s'élevaient à huit millions, on qualifiait d'hérétique, toute proposition tendante à opérer quelque modification dans leur accroissement." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 16.

[97] In a work on Spanish literature which was published about seventy years ago, and which, at the time of its appearance, made considerable noise, this peculiarity is frankly admitted, but is deemed rather an honour to Spain than otherwise, inasmuch as that country, we are told, has produced philosophers who have gone much deeper

retained her hold over the highest as well as over the lowest intellects. Such was the pressure of public opinion, that authors of every grade were proud to count themselves members of the ecclesiastical profession, the interests of which they advocated with a zeal worthy of the Dark Ages. Cervantes, three years before his death, became a Franciscan monk.[98] Lope de Vega was a priest; he was an officer of the Inquisition; and in 1623 he assisted at an auto da fé, in which, amid an immense concourse of people, a heretic was burned outside the gate of Alcalá at Madrid.[99] Moreto, one of the three greatest dramatists Spain has produced, assumed the monastic habit during the last twelve years of his life.[100] Montalvan, whose plays are still remembered, was a priest, and held office in the Inquisition.[101] Tarrega, Mira de Mescua, and Tirso de Molina, were all successful writers for the stage, and were all clergymen.[102] Solis, the celebrated historian of Mexico, was also a clergyman.[103] Sandoval, whom Philip III. appointed histori-

into things than Bacon, Descartes, and Newton, who no doubt were clever men, but were nowise comparable to the great thinkers of the Peninsula. Such assertions, proceeding, not from some ignorant despiser of physical science, who contemns what he has never been at the pains to study, but from a really able and, in some respects, competent judge, are important for the history of opinion; and as the book is not very common, I will give two or three extracts. "Confiesan los Franceses con ingenuidad que Descartes fué un novelista; y con todo eso quieren hacerle pasar por el promotor de la filosofía en Europa, como si su filosofía se desemejase mucho de la que dominaba en las sectas de la antigüedad. Su tratado 'Del metodo' es nada en comparacion de los libros 'De la corrupcion de las artes' de Juan Luis Vives, que le antecedió buen número de años." *Oracion Apologética por la España y su Mérito Literario por D. J. P. Forner*, Madrid, 1786, p. xi. "No hemos tenido en los efectos un Cartesio, no un Neuton: démoslo de barato: pero hemos tenido justísimos legisladores y excelentes filósofos prácticos, que han preferido el inefable gusto de trabajar en beneficio de la humanidad á la ociosa ocupacion de edificar mundos imaginarios en la soledad y silencio de un gabinete." p. 12. "Nada se disputaba en España." p. 61. At p. 143 a comparison between Bacon and Vives; and the final decision, p. 146, that Vives enjoys "una gloriosa superioridad sobre todos los sabios de todos los siglos."

[98] The final profession was not made till 1616; but he began to wear the clothes in 1613. "Tal era su situacion el sábado santo 2 de abril" [1616] "que por no poder salir de su casa hubieron de darle en ella la profesion de la venerable órden tercera de San Francisco, cuyo hábito habia tomado en Alcalá, el dia 2 de julio de 1613." *Navarrete, Vida de Cervantes*, p. cii., prefixed to *Don Quijote*, Barcelona, 1839. Even in 1609, says Navarrete (p. lxii.), "Se ha creido que entonces se incorporó tambien Cervantes, como lo hizo Lope de Vega, en la congregacion del oratorio del Caballero de Gracia, mientras que su muger y su hermana doña Andrea se dedicaban á semejantes ejercicios de piedad en la venerable órden tercera de San Francisco, cuyo hábito recibieron en 8 de junio del mismo año."

[99] *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 125, 126, 137, 147, 148.

[100] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 374. *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxx., pp. 149, 150.

[101] *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 276, 327.

[102] *Ticknor*, vol. ii. p. 327.

[103] *Bouterwek's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. p. 525. But the best account is that given by his biographer, who assures us of two facts; that he received "todas las órdenes sagradas," and that he was "devotísimo de María santísima." *Vida de Solis*, p. 15, prefixed to *Solis, Historia de la Conquista de Mejico*, edit. Paris, 1844.

ographer, and who is the principal authority for the reign of Charles V., was at first a Benedictine monk, afterwards became bishop of Tuy, and later still, was raised to the see of Pampeluna.[104] Davila, the biographer of Philip III., was a priest.[105] Mariana was a Jesuit;[106] and Miñana, who continued his History, was superior of a convent in Valencia.[107] Martin Carrillo was a jurisconsult as well as an historian, but, not satisfied with his double employment, he too entered the Church, and became canon of Saragossa.[108] Antonio, the most learned bibliographer Spain ever possessed, was a canon of Seville.[109] Gracian, whose prose works have been much read, and who was formerly deemed a great writer, was a Jesuit.[110] Among the poets, the same tendency was exhibited. Paravicino was for sixteen years a popular preacher at the courts of Philip III. and Philip IV.[111] Zamora was a monk.[112] Argensola was a canon of Saragossa.[113] Gongora was a priest;[114] and Rioja received a high post in the Inquisition.[115] Calderon was chaplain to Philip IV.;[116] and so fanatical are the sentiments which tarnish his brilliant genius, that he has been termed the poet of the Inquisition.[117] His love for the Church was a passion, and he scrupled at nothing which could advance its interests. In Spain such feelings were natural; though to other nations they seem so strange, that an eminent critic has declared that it is hardly possible to read his works without indignation.[118] If this be so, the indignation

[104] *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xl. p. 319.

[105] "Sacerdote soy." *Davila, Historia de la Vida de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. p. 215.

[106] *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xxvii. p. 42.

[107] *Ibid.* vol. xxix. p. 80.

[108] *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 219.

[109] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 293.

[110] *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 177.

[111] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 491, vol. iii. pp. 117, 118.

[112] *Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 348, London, 1846.

[113] "Pero en fin murio Don Andres Martinez, y sucediole en la Canongia nuestro Bartholome." *Pellicer, Ensayo de una Bibliotheca*, Madrid, 1778, 4to, p. 94. This was the younger Argensola.

[114] *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii. p. 486.

[115] "Occupied a high place in the Inquisition." *Ticknor*, vol. ii. p. 507. "Prit les ordres, et obtint un canonicat." *Biographie Univ.* vol. xxxviii. p. 120.

[116] In 1663, Philip IV. "le honró con otra Capellanía de honor en su real Capilla." *Vida de Calderon*, p. iv., prefixed to *Las Comedias de Calderon*, edit. Keil, Leipsique, 1827.

[117] "Calderon is, in fact, the true poet of the Inquisition. Animated by a religious feeling, which is too visible in all his pieces, he inspires me only with horror for the faith which he professes." *Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 379. Compare *Lewes on the Spanish Drama*, pp. 176-179.

[118] Salfi says, "Calderon de la Barca excite encore plus une sorte d'indignation, malgré son génie dramatique, qui le mit au-dessus de Vega, son prédécesseur. En lisant ses drames sans prévention, vous diriez qu'il a voulu faire servir son talent uniquement à confirmer les préjugés et les superstitions les plus ridicules de sa nation." *Ginguené, Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, vol. xii. p. 499, Paris, 1834.

should be extended to nearly all his contemporary countrymen, great or small. There was hardly a Spaniard of that period, who did not entertain similar sentiments. Even Villaviciosa, author of one of the very best mock-heroic poems Spain has produced, was not only an officer in the Inquisition, but, in his last will, he strongly urged upon his family and all his descendants, that they too should, if possible, enter the service of that noble institution, taking whatever place in it they could obtain, since all its offices were, he said, worthy of veneration.[119] In such a state of society, any thing approaching to a secular or scientific spirit, was, of course, impossible. Every one believed; no one inquired. Among the better classes, all were engaged in war or theology, and most were occupied with both. Those who made literature a profession, ministered, as professional men too often do, to the prevailing prejudice. Whatever concerned the Church was treated not only with respect, but with timid veneration. Skill and industry worthy of a far better cause, were expended in eulogizing every folly which superstition had invented. The more cruel and preposterous a custom was, the greater the number of persons who wrote in its favour, albeit no one had ventured to assail it. The quantity of Spanish works to prove the necessity of religious persecution is incalculable; and this took place in a country where not one man in a thousand doubted the propriety of burning heretics. As to miracles, which form the other capital resource of theologians, they, in the seventeenth century, were constantly happening, and as constantly being recorded. All literary men were anxious to say something on that important subject. Saints, too, being in great repute, their biographies were written in profusion, and with an indifference to truth which usually characterizes that species of composition. With these and kindred topics, the mind of Spain was chiefly busied. Monasteries, nunneries, religious orders, and cathedrals received equal attention, and huge books were written about them, in order that every particular might be preserved. Indeed, it often happened that a single convent, or a single cathedral, would have more than one his-

[119] "Entró en el año de 1622 á ser *Relator del Consejo de la General Inquisicion*, cuyo empleo sirvió y desempeñó con todo honor muchos años." And he declared, "en esta clausula de su Testamento: 'Y por quanto yo y mis hermanos y toda nuestra familia nos hemos sustentado, autorizado y puesto en estado con las honras y mercedes, que nos ha hecho el santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, á quien hemos servido como nuestros antepassados; encargo afectuosissimamente á todos mis sucessores le sean para siempre los mas respetuosos servidores y criados, viviendo en ocupacion de su santo servicio, procurando adelantarse y señalarse en él, quanto les fuere possible, en qualquiera de sus ministerios; pues todos son tan dignos de estimacion y veneracion.'" *La Mosquea, por Villaviciosa*, Prologo, pp. x.-xii., edit. Madrid, 1777.

torian ; each seeking to distance his immediate competitor, and all striving which could do most to honour the Church and to uphold the interests of which the Church was the guardian.[120]

Such was the preponderance of the ecclesiastical profession, and such was the homage paid to ecclesiastical interests by the Spaniards during the seventeenth century.[121] They did every thing to strengthen the Church in that very age when other nations first set themselves in earnest to weaken it. This unhappy peculiarity was undoubtedly the effect of preceding events ; but it was the immediate cause of the decline of Spain, since, whatever may have been the case in former periods, it is certain that, in modern times, the prosperity of nations depends on principles to which the clergy, as a body, are invariably opposed. Under Philip III. they gained an immense accession of strength ; and in that very reign they signalized this new epoch of their power by obtaining, with circumstances of horrible barbarity, the expulsion of the whole Moorish nation. This was an act so atrocious in itself,[122] and so terrible in its consequences, that some writers have ascribed to it alone, the subsequent ruin of Spain ; forgetting that other causes, far more potent, were also at work, and that this stupendous crime could never have been perpetrated, except in a country which, being long accustomed to regard heresy as the most heinous of all offences, was ready, at any cost, to purge the land and to free itself from men whose mere presence was regarded as an insult to the Christian faith.

[120] "Hardly a convent or a saint of any note in Spain, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, failed of especial commemoration; and each of the religious orders and great cathedrals had at least one historian, and most of them several. The number of books on Spanish ecclesiastical history is, therefore, one that may well be called enormous." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 132. Forner assures us, somewhat needlessly, of what no one ever doubted, that "los estudios sagrados jamas decayéron en España." *Forner, Oracion Apologética*, Madrid, 1786, p. 141.

[121] In 1623, Howell writes from Madrid: "Such is the reverence they bear to the church here, and so holy a conceit they have of all ecclesiastics, that the greatest Don in Spain will tremble to offer the meanest of them any outrage or affront." *Howell's Letters*, edit. London, 1754, p. 138. "The reverence they show to the holy function of the church is wonderful; Princes and Queens will not disdain to kiss a Capuchin's sleeve, or the surplice of a priest." . . . "There are no such sceptics and cavillers there, as in other places," p. 496. In 1669, another observer writes: "En Espagne les Religieux sont les maîtres, et l'emportent par tout où ils se trouvent." *Voyages faits en divers Temps en Espagne*, Amsterdam, 1700, p. 35. And, to quote one more authority, the following picture is given of Spanish society in the reign of Philip IV.: "No habia familia con quien no estuvieran entroncados los frailes por amistad ó parentesco; ni casa que les cerrara sus puertas; ni conversacion en que no se les cediera la palabra; ni mesa en que no se les obligara á ocupar la primera silla; ni resolucion grave entre ricos ó pobres que se adoptara sin su consejo; y si no tomaban parte en ellas, las satisfacciones domésticas no eran cabales." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 94.

[122] "Le cardinal de Richelieu, qui n'étoit pas très susceptible de pitié, l'appelle 'le plus hardi et le plus barbare conseil dont l'histoire de tous les siècles précédens fasse mention.'" *Sismondi, Histoire des Français*, vol. xxii. p. 163, Paris, 1839.

After the reduction, late in the fifteenth century, of the last Mohammedan kingdom in Spain, the great object of the Spaniards became to convert those whom they had conquered.[123] They believed that the future welfare of a whole people was at stake; and finding that the exhortations of their clergy had no effect, they had recourse to other means, and persecuted the men they were unable to persuade. By torturing some, by burning others, and by threatening all, they at length succeeded; and we are assured that, after the year 1526, there was no Mohammedan in Spain, who had not been converted to Christianity.[124] Immense numbers of them were baptized by force; but being baptized, it was held that they belonged to the Church, and were amenable to her discipline.[125] That discipline was administered by the Inquisition, which, during the rest of the sixteenth century, subjected these new Christians, or Moriscoes, as they were now called,[126] to the most barbarous treatment. The genuineness of their forced conversion was doubted; it therefore became the business of the Church to inquire into their sincerity.[127] The civil government lent its

[123] "Porque los Reyes queriendo, que en todo el Reino fuesen Christianos, embiaron á Frai Francisco Ximenez, que fue Arzobispo de Toledo i Cardenal, para que los persuadiese. Mas ellos, gente dura, pertinaz, nuevamente conquistada, estuvieron recios." *Mendoza, Guerra de Granada que hizo Felipe II. contra los Moriscos*, Valencia, 1776, 4to, p. 10. The author of this book was born early in the sixteenth century, at Granada, where he lived for a considerable period.

[124] "L'année 1526 vit donc disparaître dans toutes les parties de l'Espagne les signes extérieurs de l'islamisme." *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, Paris, 1846, vol. ii. p. 220. M. Lafuente (*Historia de España*, vol. x, p. 132) says of 1502, that "desde entonces, por primera vez al cabo de ocho siglos, no quedó un solo habitante en España que esteriormente diera culto á Mahoma:" but in vol. xi. p. 447, he says that, in 1524, "volvieron immediatamente á sus ritos y ceremonias muslímicas." As M. de Circourt was well acquainted with all the materials used by M. Lafuente, and is, moreover, a much more critical writer, it seems likely that his statement is the correct one.

[125] "Ces malheureux auraient tous été exterminés, s'ils n'avaient consenti à recevoir le baptême. Au milieu des décombres de leurs maisons, sur les cadavres fumans de leurs femmes, ils s'agenouillèrent. Les germanos, ivres de sang, firent l'office de prêtres; l'un d'eux prit un balai, aspergea la foule des musulmans, en prononçant les paroles sacramentelles, et crut avoir fait des chrétiens. L'armée des germanos se répandit ensuite dans le pays environnant, saccageant d'abord, baptisant après." *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 175. See also p. 202.

[126] That was their general name; but, in Aragon, they were termed "'tornadizos,' en lenguage insultante." *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos de España*, Madrid, 1857, p. 26.

[127] "Recibieron el Sacramento por comodidad, no de voluntad, y asi encubriah todo lo possible el viuir y morir en la secta de Mahoma, siendo infieles apostatas." *Vanderhammen's Filipe Segundo*, p. 12. "Porque la Inquisicion los comenzó á apretar mas de lo ordinario." *Mendoza, Guerra de Granada*, p. 20. "Poner nuevo cuidado i diligencia en descubrir los motivos destos hombres," p. 26. And yet this very writer has the impudence to declaim against Mohammedanism as a cruel religion. "Cruel i abominable religion aplacar á Dios con vida i sangre inocente!" pp. 107, 108.

aid; and among other enactments, an edict was issued by Philip II. in 1566, ordering the Moriscoes to abandon every thing which by the slightest possibility could remind them of their former religion. They were commanded, under severe penalties, to learn Spanish, and to give up all their Arabic books. They were forbidden to read their native language, or to write it, or even to speak it in their own houses. Their ceremonies and their very games were strictly prohibited. They were to indulge in no amusements which had been practised by their fathers; neither were they to wear such clothes as they had been accustomed to. Their women were to go unveiled; and as bathing was a heathenish custom, all public baths were to be destroyed, and even all baths in private houses.[128]

By these and similar measures,[129] these unhappy people were at length goaded into rebellion; and in 1568 they took the desperate step of measuring their force against that of the whole Spanish monarchy. The result could hardly be doubted; but the Moriscoes, maddened by their sufferings, and fighting for their all, protracted the contest till 1571, when the insurrection was finally put down.[130] By this unsuccessful effort,

[128] Vanderhammen (*Filipe Segundo*, p. 12, Madrid, 1632) merely tells us that "Por cedula el año sesenta y seis les mandó dexassen el habito, lengua y costumbres de Moros, y fuessen Christianos y lo pareciessen." But the exact provisions were, "Que dentro de tres años aprendiesen los moriscos á hablar la lengua castellana, y de allí adelante ninguno pudiese hablar, leer ni escribir arábigo en publico ni en secreto: que todos los contratos que se hiciesen en arábigo fuesen nulos: que todos los libros así escritos los llevasen en término de treinta dias al presidente de la audiencia de Granada para que los mandase examinar, devolviendoseles aquellos que no ofrecieran inconveniente para que los pudiesen guardar solo durante los tres años: que no se hicieran de nuevo marlotas, almalafas, calzas ni otra suerte de vestidos de los que se usaban en tiempos de moros; que durante este tiempo, las mujeres vestidas á la morisca llevarian la cara descubierta; que no usasen de las ceremonias ni de los regocijos moros en las bodas, sino conforme al uso de la Santa Madre Iglesia, abriendo las puertas de sus casas en tales dias, y tambien en los de fiesta, no haciendo zambras ni leylas con instrumentos ni cantares moriscos, aunque no dijesen en ellos cosas contraria á la religion cristiana," &c. *Janer*, *Condicion de los Moriscos*, pp. 31, 32, where other particulars will be found, which should be compared with *Circourt*, *Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 278, 283, 459-463.

[129] Some of the other steps which were taken, before 1566, to affront the Moriscoes are enumerated in *Prescott's History of Philip II.*, vol. iii. p. 10, and elsewhere. In the reign of Charles V., there were many acts of local tyranny which escape the general historian. One of them, on the part of the Bishop of Guadix, is worth quoting. "On le vit pousser l'intolérance jusqu'à faire raser les femmes et les obliger à râcler leurs ongles pour en faire disparaître les traces du henné, cosmétique inoffensif dont il abhorrait l'usage, en raison de ce que les Arabes l'avaient introduit." *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. ii. p. 226.

[130] Its concluding scene, in March 1571, is skilfully depicted in *Prescott's History of Philip III.*, vol. iii. pp. 148-151. The splendid courage of the Moriscoes is attested by Mendoza in his contemporary history of the war; but, in narrating the horrible outrages which they undoubtedly committed, he makes no allowance for the long-continued and insufferable provocations which they had received from the Spanish Christians. What he mentions of one of the battles is curious, and I do not

they were greatly reduced in numbers and in strength ; and, during the remaining twenty-seven years of the reign of Philip II. we hear comparatively little of them. Notwithstanding an occasional outbreak, the old animosities were subsiding, and in the course of time would probably have disappeared. At all events, there was no pretence for violence on the part of the Spaniards, since it was absurd to suppose that the Moriscoes, weakened in every way, humbled, broken, and scattered through the kingdom, could, even if they desired it, effect any thing against the resources of the executive government.

But, after the death of Philip II., that movement began which I have just described, and which, contrary to the course of affairs in other nations, secured to the Spanish clergy in the seventeenth century, more power than they had possessed in the sixteenth. The consequences of this were immediately apparent. The clergy did not think that the steps taken by Philip II. against the Moriscoes were sufficiently decisive ; and even during his lifetime they looked forward to a new reign, in which these Christians of doubtful sincerity should be either destroyed or driven from Spain.[131] While he was on the throne, the prudence of the government restrained in some degree the eagerness of the Church ; and the king, following the advice of his ablest ministers, refused to adopt the measures to which he was urged, and to which his own disposition prompted him.[132] But, under

remember to have seen it elsewhere recorded. "Fue porfiado por ambas partes el combate hasta venir á las espadas, de que los Moros se aprovechan menos que nosotros, por tener las suyas un filo i no herir ellos de punta." *Mendoza, Guerra de Granada*, edit. 4to, Valencia, 1776, p. 168.

[131] An instance of this was exhibited in 1578, on the very day in which Philip III. was born. "Predicando en un lugar de Aragon, todo de Moriscos, llamado Ricla, ó Torrellas, un religioso, llamado Vargas, el mismo dia, que nació su Magestad, viendo el poco fruto, que hacia con sus sermones, dixo, como en Profecia, á aquella gente rebelde: Pues no quereis despedir de vuestros pechos esta infernal secta, sabed, que ha nacido en Castilla vn Principe que os ha de echar de España." *Porreño, Dichos y Hechos de Phelipe III.*, in *Yañez, Memorias*, Madrid, 1723, p. 224: and nearly the same words in *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, p. 60. Mr. Prescott, in his *History of Philip II.*, vol. iii. p. 139, quotes a Ms. letter from Don John of Austria to Philip II., written in 1570, and stating that the Spanish monks were openly preaching against the leniency with which the king treated the Moriscoes. "Predicando en los púlpitos publicamente contra la benignidad y clemencia que V. M. ha mandado usar con esta gente."

[132] In a recent work of considerable authority, it is denied that Philip II. entertained the desire of expelling the Moriscoes. "El carácter austero y la severidad de Felipe II. redundaban en favor de los moriscos, porque no daba oidos á las instigaciones de algunos personajes que señalaban la expulsion general como único remedio eficaz para los males que ofrecia al pais aquella desventurada raza. Acababa el monarca de tocar los tristes resultados de una emigracion por las funestas consecuencias de la despoblacion del reino granadino, y preferia continuar en la *senda de la conciliacion*, procurando de nuevo la enseñanza de los conversos." *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1857, p. 59. But, to say nothing of the fact that this is contrary to all we know of the character of Philip, we have on the other side of the question, the testimony of Archbishop Ribera, who had often communicated with the king on the subject, and who distinctly states that Philip desired the expul-

his successor, the clergy, as we have already seen, gained fresh strength, and they soon felt themselves sufficiently powerful to begin another and final crusade against the miserable remains of the Moorish nation.[133]

The Archbishop of Valencia was the first to take the field. In 1602, this eminent prelate presented a memorial to Philip III. against the Moriscoes; and finding that his views were cordially supported by the clergy, and not discouraged by the crown, he followed up the blow by another memorial having the same object.[134] The Archbishop, who spoke as one having authority, and who from his rank and position was a natural representative of the Spanish Church, assured the king that all the disasters which had befallen the monarchy, had been caused by the presence of these unbelievers, whom it was now necessary to root out, even as David had done to the Philistines, and

sion of the Moors from Spain. "El hechar los Moros deste Reyno, ha sido cosa muy desseada, y procurada por los Reyes Predecessores del Rey nuestro Señor, aunque no executada." . . . "El Rey Don Felipe Segundo, nuestro Señor, despues de suceder en estos Reynos, *tuvo el mismo desseo;* y assi mandó, que se juntassen los Prelados deste Reyno para buscar remedio el año de 1568; siendo Arçobispo desta Metropoli el Reverendissimo Don Hernando de Lloazes. Hizieronse en aquella Junta algunas Constituciones de consideracion. Visto que no aprovechaban, mandó el año 1587 que se hiziesse otra Junta, *en la qual me hallé yo:* añadimos tambien algunas nuevas Constituciones. Y constando á su Magestad que no eran bastantes las diligencias passadas, y que siempre perseveraban en su heregia, se resolvio de mandarlos hechar del Reyno, ó por lo menos meterlos dentro de la tierra." *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, Roma, 1734, 4to, pp. 419, 420. This important passage is decisive as to the real feelings of Philip, unless we assume that Ribera has stated a deliberate falsehood. But, strange to say, even the book in which so remarkable a passage is contained, appears to be unknown either to M. Janer or to M. Lafuente.

[133] "El rey Felipe III., hombre de rudo ingenio, se dejaba gobernar con facilidad por aquellos que sabiendo los temores de su conciencia, se aprovechaban de su imbecilidad para conseguir cuanto querian. Muchos eclesiásticos, recordando las espulsiones de judios y moros ejecutadas de órden de Fernando é Isabel, y conociendo que á Felipe III. seria agradable imitar á estos monarcas, le aconsejaron que condenase al destierro á todos los moriscos que vivian en sus reynos; pues no solo se obstinaban en seguir la ley mahometana, sino que tenian tratos con los turcos y entre sí para buscar sus libertades por medio del rigor de las armas." *Castro, Decadencia de España*, Cadiz, 1852, pp. 101, 102.

[134] These memorials are printed in the Appendix to his Life by Ximenez. See the very curious book, entitled *Vida y Virtudes del Venerable Siervo de Dios D. Juan de Ribera, por el R. P. Fr. Juan Ximenez*, Roma, 1734, 4to, pp. 367-374, 376-393. This work is, I believe, extremely rare; at all events, I endeavoured, in vain, to obtain a copy from Spain or Italy, and, after some years' unsuccessful search, I met with the one I now have, on a London book-stall. M. de Circourt, in his learned History of the Spanish Arabs, does not appear to have been aware of its existence, and he complains that he could not procure the works of Ribera, whose memorials he consequently quotes second-hand. *Circourt, Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, Paris, 1846, vol. iii. pp. 168, 351. Nor does Watson seem to have known it; though both he and M. de Circourt refer to Escriva's Life of Ribera. *Watson's Philip III.*, London, 1839, pp. 214-221. An abstract of these Memorials is given by Geddes, who, though a learned and accurate writer, had the mischievous habit of not indicating the sources of his information. *Geddes' Tracts*, London, 1730, vol. i. pp. 60-71.

Saul to the Amalekites.[135] He declared that the Armada, which Philip II. sent against England in 1588, had been destroyed, because God would not allow even that pious enterprise to succeed, while those who undertook it, left heretics undisturbed at home. For the same reason, the late expedition to Algiers had failed; it being evidently the will of Heaven that nothing should prosper while Spain was inhabited by apostates.[136] He, therefore, exhorted the king to exile all the Moriscoes, except some whom he might condemn to work in the galleys, and others who could become slaves, and labour in the mines of America.[137] This, he added, would make the reign of Philip glorious to all posterity, and would raise his fame far

[135] "Por lo qual se puede creer, que nuestro Señor ha querido reservar esta obra tan digna de pecho Real para Vuestra Magestad, como reservó la libertad de su pueblo para Moyses, la entrada de la Tierra de Promission para Josue, la vengança de la injuria antigua de los Amalequitas para Saul, y la victoria de los Filisteos para David." *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, p. 370. Again, p. 377: "Y al primer Rey que tuvo el Mundo, en siendo elegido por Dios, y confirmado en su Reyno, le embia á mandar por un Propheta que destruya á los Amalequitas, sin dexar hombres, ni mugeres, ni niños, aunque sean de leche, en fin que no quede rastro de ellos, ni de sus haziendas. Y porque no cumplió exactamente su mandamiento, cayó en indignacion de Dios, y fue privado del Reyno. Al segundo Rey, que fue David, le mandó Dios en siendo jurado, que destruyesse los Philisteos, como lo hizo."

[136] "El año quando se perdio la poderosa Armada, que iba á Inglaterra, confiado de la benignidad del Rey nuestro Señor, que está en el Cielo, me atrevi con el zelo de fiel vassallo y Capellan, á dezir á Su Magestad; que aviendo gastado mucho tiempo en discurrir, que causa podia aver para que Dios, nuestro Señor, permitiesse aquel mal sucesso, se me havia ofrecido una cosa de mucha consideracion, y era, querer dezir la Magestad Divina á Su Magestad Catolica; que mientras no ponia remedio en estas Heregias de España, cuyos Reynos le avia encomendado, no se debia ocupar en remediar las de los Reynos agenos. Y ahora confiando en la misma benignidad, y clemencia de Vuestra Magestad, me atrevo tambien á dezir, que aviendo considerado la causa, porque Dios nos ha quitado de las manos la toma de Argel, aviendose dispuesto todas las prevenciones para ella con la mayor prudencia, y sagacidad, que hemos visto en nuestros tiempos, y sirviendonos el mar, y los ayres, y las ocasiones, de la manera, que podiamos dessear, tengo por sin duda, que ha sido, querer nuestro Señor dar á Vuestra Magestad el ultimo recuerdo de la obligacion, que tiene, de resolver esta platica." *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, p. 373. It would be a pity if such admirable specimens of theological reasoning were to remain buried in an old Roman quarto. I congratulate myself and the reader on my acquisition of this volume, which is a vast repertory of powerful, though obsolete, weapons.

[137] "Todas estas cosas, y otras muchas, que dexo de dezir, por no ser prolixo, me hazen evidencia, de que conviene para el servicio de Dios nuestro Señor, y que Vuestra Magestad está obligado en conciencia, como Rey, y Supremo Señor, á quien toca de justicia defender, y conservar sus Reynos, mandar desterrar de España todos estos Moriscos, sin que quede hombre, ni muger grande, ni pequeño; reservando tan solamente los niños, y niñas, que no llegaren á siete años, para que se guarden entre nosotros, repartiendolos por las casas particulares de Christianos viejos. Y aun hay opinion de personas doctas, que estos tales niños y niñas, los puede Vuestra Magestad dar por esclavos, y lo fundan con razones probables." *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, pp. 379, 380. "Destos que se han de desterrar, podra Vuestra Magestad tomarlos que fuere servido por esclavos, para proveer sus Galeras, ó para embiar á las minas de las Indias, sin escrupulo alguno de conciencia, lo que tambien sera de no poca utilidad." p. 384. To do this, was to be merciful; for they all deserved capital punishment, "merecian pena capital." p. 381.

above that of his predecessors, who in this matter had neglected their obvious duty.[138]

These remonstrances, besides being in accordance with the known views of the Spanish Church, were warmly supported by the personal influence of the Archbishop of Toledo, the primate of Spain. In only one respect did he differ from the views advocated by the Archbishop of Valencia. The Archbishop of Valencia thought that children under seven years of age need not share in the general banishment, but might, without danger to the faith, be separated from their parents, and kept in Spain. To this, the Archbishop of Toledo strongly objected. He was unwilling, he said, to run the risk of pure Christian blood being polluted by infidels; and he declared that sooner than leave one of these unbelievers to corrupt the land, he would have the whole of them, men, women, and children, at once put to the sword.[139]

That they should all be slain, instead of being banished, was the desire of a powerful party in the Church, who thought that such signal punishment would work good by striking terror into the heretics of every nation. Bleda, the celebrated Dominican, one of the most influential men of his time, wished this to be done, and to be done thoroughly. He said, that, for the sake of example, every Morisco in Spain should have his throat cut, because it was impossible to tell which of them were Christians at heart, and it was enough to leave the matter to

[138] "Aora, Catolica Magestad, vemos que Dios nuestro Señor ha reservado para Vuestra Magestad, y para su Real Corona, el nombre, y hechos de Rey Catholico: permitiendo por sus secretos juizios, que los que han sido siempre enemigos de su Iglesia se conserven, y que los que antes eran Catholicos, ayan degenerado, y apostatado de su santa ley y assi va la honra de Dios nuestro Señor, y el exemplo, y confusion de los otros Reyes, en que Vuestra Magestad tenga sus Reynos limpios de Hereges, y principalmente á España. Y quando esto huviesse de costar grandes trabajos, y todo el oro, y plata, que hay en las Indias, estaria muy bien empleado: pues se atraviessa la honra de Dios, la de su Santa Iglesia, el antiguo renombre desta Corona," &c. *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, p. 382. And on the neglect of duty by Charles V., and Philip II., see p. 370.

[139] "The most powerful promoter of their expulsion, was Don Bernardo de Roias y Sandoval, Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and Inquisitor-General and Chancellor of Spain. This great prelate, who was brother to the Duke of Lerma, by whom the king for some years before, and for some years after the expulsion was absolutely governed, was so zealous to have the whole race of the Moriscoes extinguished, that he opposed the detaining of their children who were under seven years of age; affirming that of the two he judged it more advisable to cut the throats of all the Moriscoes, men, women, and children, than to have any of their children left in Spain, to defile the true Spanish blood with a mixture of the Moorish." *Geddes' Tracts*, vol. i. pp. 85, 86. Navarrete has pronounced a glowing eulogy upon the piety and other noble qualities of this prelate; and says that "llenando de esplendor con su virtud tres sillas episcopales, mereció que Clemente VIII. le honrase con el capelo, y fué elevado á la primada de Toledo, y al empleo de inquisidor general." *Vida de Cervantes*, pp. xcvii., xcviii., Barcelona, 1839.

God, who knew his own, and who would reward in the next world those who were really Catholics.[140]

It was evident that the fate of the wretched remnant of a once splendid nation was now sealed. The religious scruples of Philip III. forbad him to struggle with the Church; and his minister Lerma would not risk his own authority by even the show of opposition. In 1609, he announced to the king, that the expulsion of the Moriscoes had become necessary. "The resolution," replied Philip, "is a great one; let it be executed."[141] And executed it was, with unflinching barbarity. About one million of the most industrious inhabitants of Spain were hunted out like wild beasts, because the sincerity of their religious opinions was doubtful.[142] Many were slain, as they approached the coast; others were beaten and plundered; and the majority, in the most wretched plight, sailed for Africa.

[140] "He did assure all the old Christian laity, that whenever the king should give the word, they might, without any scruple of conscience, cut the throats of all the Moriscoes, and not spare any of them upon their professing themselves Christians; but to follow the holy and laudable example of the Croisado that was raised against the Albigenses, who, upon their having made themselves masters of the city of Bezeir, wherein were two hundred thousand Catholics and hereticks, did ask Father Arnold, a Cistercian monk, who was their chief preacher, 'Whether they should put any to the sword that pretended to be Catholics;' and were answered by the holy Abbot, 'That they should kill all without distinction, and leave it to God, who knew his own, to reward them for being true Catholicks in the next world;' which was accordingly executed." *Geddes*, vol. i. p. 84.

[141] "'Grande resolucion!' contestó el débil monarca al ministro favorito: 'hacedlo vos, duque.'" *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. p. 375. But this reply, so far from being a mark of weakness on the part of Philip, was a strictly logical application of the principles which he entertained, and which indeed were almost universal in Spain. We know from his contemporary biographer, that "Determinó el Rey en los principios de su Reynado, como Rey tan poderoso y Catolico, de consagrar y dedicar á Dios la potencia de sus Consejos y Armas para extinguir y acabar los enemigos de la Iglesia Santa." *Davila, Historia de la Vida de Felipe Tercero*, lib. i. p. 44.

[142] This is the average estimate. Some authors make it less, and some more; while one writer says, "The numbers expelled have been estimated at four hundred thousand families, or two millions of souls." *Clarke's Internal State of Spain*, London, 1818, p. 33. But this is incredible. M. Castro (*Decadencia de España*, Cadiz, 1852, p. 105) says, "España perdió en los moriscos un millon de habitantes;" and M. Janer (*Condicion de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1857, p. 93), "Sin entrar en cálculos sobre los que habia cuando se expidio el edicto de Valencia en 1609, ni sobre los que fenecieron en las rebeliones, de mano armada, de sed, de hambre ó ahogados, creemos poder fijar, aproximadamente, en novecientos mil los que llegaron á poner el pie fuera de la península, despidiéndose para siempre de las costas y fronteras de España, cuya cifra deducimos del exámen y contexto de unos y otros escritores, de las listas que nos han quedado de los expulsos, de los datos de diversas relaciones, estados y documentos examinados con este solo intento;" and further on, p. 105, "la expulsion de un millon, ó novecientos mil de sus habitantes." Llorente (*Histoire de l'Inquisition*, vol. iii. p. 430, Paris, 1818) says, "un million d'habitans utiles et laborieux;" Ximenez (*Vida de Ribera*, Roma, 1734, 4to, p. 70), "novecientos mil;" and Boisel, who was in Spain, fifty years after the expulsion, and collected the traditionary evidence, says, "Il sortit neuf cens tant de mille hommes de compte fait, de Valence, d'Andalousie, et de Castille." *Boisel, Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1669, 4to, p. 275.

During the passage, the crew, in many of the ships, rose upon them, butchered the men, ravished the women, and threw the children into the sea. Those who escaped this fate, landed on the coast of Barbary, where they were attacked by the Bedouins, and many of them put to the sword. Others made their way into the desert, and perished from famine. Of the number of lives actually sacrificed, we have no authentic account; but it is said, on very good authority, that in one expedition, in which 140,000 were carried to Africa, upwards of 100,000 suffered death in its most frightful forms within a few months after their expulsion from Spain.[143]

Now, for the first time, the Church was really triumphant.[144] For the first time, there was not a heretic to be seen between the Pyrenees and the Straits of Gibraltar. All were orthodox, and all were loyal. Every inhabitant of that great country obeyed the Church, and feared the king. And from this happy combination, it was believed that the prosperity and grandeur of Spain were sure to follow. The name of Philip III. was to be immortal, and posterity would never weary of admiring that heroic act by which the last remains of an infidel race were cast out from the land. Those who had even remotely participated in the glorious consummation, were to be rewarded by the choicest blessings. Themselves, and their families, were under the immediate protection of Heaven. The earth should bear more fruit, and the trees should clap their hands. Instead of the thorn, should come up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier, the myrtle. A new era was now inaugurated, in which Spain, purged of her heresy, was to be at ease, and men, living in safety, were to sleep under the shade of their own vineyards, sow their gardens in peace, and eat of the fruit of the trees they had planted.[145]

[143] *Watson's Philip III.*, pp. 234, 235. *Davila, Vida de Felipe III.*, p. 146. *Yañez, Memorias para la Historia de Felipe III.*, pp. 281, 290. *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, pp. 83, 84, 90. Some particulars respecting their expulsion may also be seen in Cottington's Letters from Madrid, which were written in 1609, but are of very little value. *Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. iii. pp. 73, 91, 103, 118, London, folio, 1725.

[144] In a contemporary sermon in commemoration of their expulsion, the preacher joyfully exclaims, "Pues, que mayor honra podemos tener en este Reyno, que ser todos los que vivimos en el, fieles á Dios, y al Rey, sin compañia de estos Hereges y traydores?" *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, p. 423. Another clergyman cries out, "Al fin salieron estos, y quedó la tierra libre de la infamia de esta gente." *Davila, Vida de Felipe Tercero*, p. 149. See also p. 151. "Y es digno de poner en consideracion el zelo que los Reyes de España tuvieron en todo tiempo de sustentar la Fé Catolica; pues en diferentes expulsiones que han hecho, han sacado de sus Reynos tres millones de Moros, y dos millones de Judios, enemigos de nuestra Iglesia."

[145] See the sermon by the Archbishop of Valencia, printed at length in the Appendix to *Ximenez, Vida de Ribera*, pp. 411-428. I would fain quote it all; but the reader must be content with part of the peroration. pp. 426, 427. "Entre las felizidades, que cuenta el Espiritu Santo que tuvieron los hijos de Israel en el go-

These were the promises held out by the Church, and believed by the people. It is our business to inquire how far the expectations were fulfilled, and what the consequences were of an act which was instigated by the clergy, welcomed by the nation, and eagerly applauded by some of the greatest men of genius Spain has produced.[146]

vierno del Rey Salomon, es una; que vivian los hombres seguros, durmiendo á la sombra de su parra, y de su higuera, sin tener de quien temer. *Assi estaremos en este Reyno de aqui adelante*, por la misericordia de nuestro Señor, y paternal providencia de Su Magestad, todo nos sobrará, y la misma tierra se fertilizará y dará fruto de bendicion. Brocardico es, de que todos usabades, diziendo que despues, que estos se bautizaron, no se avia visto un año fertil; *aora todos lo seran*, porque las heregias y blasfemias de estos tenian esterilizada, abrasada, y inficionada la tierra, como dixo el Real Propheta David, con tantos pecados y abominaciones." . . . . "Y edificarán en las tierras, que antes eran desiertas, plantando viñas, y bebiendo el vino de ellas, y sembrarán huertas, y comeran del fruto de los arboles, que han plantado, y nunca seran hechados de sus casas, dize Dios. Todo esto promete nuestro Señor por dos Prophetas suyos. *Todo* (*digo otra vez*) *nos sobrará*." All this was to happen to the people; while, as to the king, he, in the same sermon, p. 416, is likened to David; and it was declared by another high authority, that his expulsion of the Moriscoes was so great an exploit ("hazaña"), that "durára su memoria por los venideros siglos." *Porreño*, in *Yanez*, *Memorias para Felipe III.*, p. 281.

[146] "Amidst the devout exultation of the whole kingdom,—Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and others of the principal men of genius then alive, joining in the general jubilee." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i. pp. 428, 429. Compare *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 16. Porreño says that it may be placed among the seven wonders of the world; "la podemos poner entre las siete maravillas del mundo." *Yañez*, *Memorias*, p. 297: and Davila (*Vida de Felipe Tercero*, lib. ii. cap. 41, p. 139) pronounces it to be the most glorious achievement which had been seen since the days of Pelayo. All this is natural enough; but what is really curious is, to trace the modern remains of this feeling. Campomanes (*Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iv. p. 130, Madrid, 1777), a very able man, and far more liberal than most of his countrymen, is not ashamed to speak of "la justa expulsion de los moriscos desde 1610 á 1613." Ortiz, in 1801, expresses himself with more hesitation, but is evidently in favour of a measure which liberated Spain from "la perniciosa semilla de Mahoma que restaba en ella." *Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. vi. pp. 304, 305. Nay, even in 1856, the great modern historian of Spain, while admitting the serious material injury which this horrible crime inflicted on the country, assures us that it had the "immense advantage" of producing religious unity; unable to perceive that the very unity of which he boasts, generates an acquiescence and stagnation of mind fatal to all real improvement, because it prevents that play and collision of opinions by which the wits of men are sharpened and made ready for use. "Con la expulsion se completó el principio de la unidad religiosa en España, que fué un bien inmenso, pero se consumó la ruina de la agricultura, que fué un inmenso mal." *Lafuente*, *Historia de España*, vol. xvii. p. 340, Madrid, 1856. And, the year after this sagacious sentiment had been given to the world, another eminent Spaniard, in a work crowned by the Royal Academy of History, went still further, and declared, that not only did the expulsion of the Moriscoes cause great benefit by securing unity of creed, but that such unity was "necessary on the Spanish soil." "Y si bajo el aspecto económico reprobamos semejante medida por la influencia perniciosa que tuvo desde el momento de dictarse, la imparcialidad de historiadores nos obliga á respetarla por los inmensos bienes que produjo en el órden religioso y en el órden politico." . . . . "La unidad religiosa era necesaria en el suelo español." *Janer*, *Condicion Social de los Moriscos de España*, Madrid, 1857, pp. 110, 114. What are we to think of a country in which these opinions are expressed, not by some obscure fanatic, from the platform or the pulpit, but by able and learned men, who promulgate them with all the authority of

The effects upon the material prosperity of Spain may be stated in a few words. From nearly every part of the country, large bodies of industrious agriculturists and expert artificers were suddenly withdrawn. The best systems of husbandry then known, were practised by the Moriscoes, who tilled and irrigated with indefatigable labour.[147] The cultivation of rice, cotton, and sugar, and the manufacture of silk and paper, were almost confined to them.[148] By their expulsion, all this was destroyed at a blow, and most of it was destroyed for ever. For, the Spanish Christians considered such pursuits beneath their dignity. In their judgment, war and religion were the only two avocations worthy of being followed. To fight for the king, or to enter the Church, was honourable; but every thing else was mean and sordid.[149] When, therefore, the Moriscoes were thrust out of Spain, there was no one to fill their place; arts and manufactures either degenerated, or were entirely lost, and immense regions of arable land were left uncultivated. Some of the richest parts of Valencia and Granada were so neglected, that means were wanting to feed even the scanty population which remained there.[150] Whole districts were suddenly deserted,

their position, being themselves deemed, if any thing, rather too bold and too liberal for the people to whom they address their works?

[147] "Los moros eran muy diestros en todo lo que mira á obras de agua." *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iii. p. cvii. "The Moors were the most intelligent agriculturists Spain ever had." *Laborde's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 216. Even Jovellanos admits that, "except in the parts occupied by the Moors, the Spaniards were almost totally unacquainted with the art of irrigation." *Clarke's Internal State of Spain*, p. 116. See also *Circourt, Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. i. p. 255, vol. ii. p. 12, vol. iii. pp. 162, 222; *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171; and *Townsend's Spain*, vol. iii. p. 74. Remains of their splendid aqueducts still exist. *Hoskins' Spain*, vol. i. pp. 120, 125, 291, 292. Compare *Spain by an American*, vol. ii. p. 112, with *L'Estat de l'Espagne*, Geneve, 1681, p. 399.

[148] Compare *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, pp. 47, 48, with *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iii. p. xxii., and *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 13.

[149] The more sensible among the Spaniards notice, with regret, this national contempt for every form of useful industry. See *Campomanes, Educacion Popular*, p. 128, and *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. pp. 277, 278. A traveller in Spain in 1669, says of the people, "ils méprisent tellement le travail, que la plûpart des artisans sont étrangers." *Voyages faits en divers Temps par M. M*****, Amsterdam, 1700, p. 80. Another traveller, between 1693 and 1695, says, they "think it below the dignity of a Spaniard to labour and provide for the future." *Travels by a Gentleman* (by Bromley?), London, 1702, p. 35. A third observer, in 1679, assures us that "ils souffrent plus aisément le faim et les autres necessitez de la vie, que de travailler, disent-ils, comme des mercenaires, ce qui n'appartient qu'à des Esclaves." *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. pp. 369, 370. For further illustrations of this, see *Labat, Voyages en Espagne*, Paris, 1730, vol. i. pp. 285, 286. *Capmany, Qüestiones Criticas*, pp. 43, 49, 50. *Laborde's Spain*, vol. i. p. L. *Ranke's Spanish Empire*, p. 103. *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 240, 241.

[150] "Pudo, pues, decirse con razon de nuestra patria, que de Arabia Feliz se habia convertido en Arabia Desierta, y de Valencia en particular, que el bello jardin de España se habia convertido en páramo seco y deslucido. Dejóse en breve

and down to the present day have never been repeopled. These solitudes gave refuge to smugglers and brigands, who succeeded the industrious inhabitants formerly occupying them ; and it is said, that from the expulsion of the Moriscoes is to be dated the existence of those organized bands of robbers, which, after this period, became the scourge of Spain, and which no subsequent government has been able entirely to extirpate.[151]

To these disastrous consequences, others were added, of a different, and, if possible, of a still more serious kind. The victory gained by the Church increased both her power and her reputation. During the rest of the seventeenth century, not only were the interests of the clergy deemed superior to the interests of laymen, but the interests of laymen were scarcely thought of. The greatest men, with hardly an exception, became ecclesiastics, and all temporal considerations, all views of earthly policy, were despised and set at nought. No one inquired ; no one doubted ; no one presumed to ask if all this was right. The minds of men succumbed and were prostrate. While every other country was advancing, Spain alone was receding. Every other country was making some addition to knowledge, creating some art, or enlarging some science. Spain, numbed into a death-like torpor, spell-bound and entranced by the accursed superstition which preyed on her strength, presented to Europe a solitary instance of constant decay. For her, no hope remained ; and, before the close of the seventeenth century, the only question was, by whose hands the blow should be struck, which would dismember that once mighty empire, whose shadow had covered the world, and whose vast remains were imposing even in their ruin.

To indicate the different steps which mark the decline of

sentir en todas partes el azote del hambre ; y al alegre bullicio de las poblaciones sucedió el melancólico silencio de los despoblados, y al frecuente cruzar de los labradores y trajineros por los caminos siguió el peligroso encuentro de los salteadores que los infestaban, abrigándose en las ruinas de los pueblos desiertos." *Janer*, *Condicion de los Moriscos*, p. 100. See also *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 16. Campomanes says, "El gran número de artesanos, que salieron con la expulsion de los moriscos, causó un golpe mortal á las manufacturas, y á la labranza." *Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. i. p. 13. And p. 268, "El punto de decadencia de nuestras manufacturas, puede fixarse desde el año de 1609, en que tubo principio la expulsion de los Moriscos."

[151] "Sur la carte d'Espagne, en mille endroits est inscrit ce funeste mot, *despoblado ;* en mille endroits la nature sauvage a repris la place des cultures. Etudiez la direction des despoblados, et consultez les registres des commissaires de l'expulsion, vous verrez presque toujours que les familles morisques couvraient ces solitudes. Leur patrimoine abandonné forma le domaine des voleurs, qui établirent avec une sorte de sécurité leurs correspondances effrontées à travers toute l'Espagne. Le brigandage s'organisa comme une profession ordinaire ; et la contrebande, sa compagne, leva le front avec autant d'audace, autant de succès." *Circourt*, *Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne*, vol. iii. pp. 227, 228.

Spain would be hardly possible, since even the Spaniards, who, when it was too late, were stung with shame, have abstained from writing what would only be the history of their own humiliation; so that there is no detailed account of the wretched reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II., which together comprise a period of nearly eighty years.[152] Some facts, however, I have been able to collect, and they are very significant. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the population of Madrid was estimated to be 400,000; at the beginning of the eighteenth century, less than 200,000.[153] Seville, one of the richest cities in Spain, possessed in the sixteenth century upwards of sixteen thousand looms, which gave employment to a hundred and thirty thousand persons.[154] By the reign of Philip

[152] "Declinó pues muy sensiblemente la vasta monarquía, y callaron atonitos los historiadores, como huyendo la necesidad de traer á la memoria lo que veian y apenas creian. Enmudeció pues la historia de España en los dos reynados de Felipe IV. y Carlos II. viendo continuaba nuestra decadencia, hasta quedar España al nivel de los menos poderosos Estados de Europa. Este silencio nos ha privado de saber no solo las causas de nuestra decadencia, sino tambien de los acontecimientos civiles y militares del siglo xvii." *Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España* vol. vi., Prologo, p. i. No attempt was made to supply the deficiency complained of by Ortiz, until 1856, when M. Lafuente published, in Madrid, the sixteenth and seventeenth volumes of his History of Spain, which contain the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II. Of this work, I have no desire to speak disrespectfully; on the contrary, it is impossible to read it without interest, on account of the admirable clearness with which the different topics are arranged, and also on account of its beautiful style, which reminds us of the best days of Castilian prose. But I feel constrained to say, that, as a history, and especially as a history which undertakes to investigate the causes of the decline of Spain, it is a complete failure. In the first place, M. Lafuente has not emancipated himself from those very prejudices to which the decline of his country is owing. And, in the second place, he has, particularly in the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II., not used sufficient diligence in searching for materials for studying the economical changes through which Spain has passed. Looking too intently at the surface, he mistakes symptoms for causes; so that the real history of the Spanish people every where escapes his grasp. As the object to which my studies are directed, compels me to contemplate affairs from a larger and more general point of view than he has done, it naturally happens that the conclusions at which we arrive are very different; but I wish to bear my testimony, whatever it may be worth, to the great merit of his book as a work of art, though, as a work of science, it appears to me that he has effected nothing, and has thrown no new light on the real history of that unfortunate, albeit once splendid, nation, of which his eloquence, his learning, and his taste, make him one of the chiefest ornaments.

[153] See *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 320; and the interesting calculations in *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, Madrid, 1757, folio, pp. 35, 36. Owing to the ignorance which formerly prevailed respecting statistics, such estimates are necessarily imperfect; but, after the desolation of Spain in the seventeenth century, an extraordinary diminution in the population of the capital was inevitable. Indeed, a contemporary of Charles II. states that, in 1699, Madrid had only 150,000 inhabitants. *Mémoires de Louville*, Paris, 1818, vol. i. p. 72. This account is taken from "un mémoire manuscrit, en langue espagnole, trouvé dans les papiers du marquis de Louville." p. 67.

[154] Capmany (*Qüestiones Criticas*, p. 30), who seems to have written his able, but not very accurate, work for the express purpose of concealing the decline of his country, has given these figures erroneously. My information is derived from an official report made in 1701, by the trade-corporations ("gremios") of Seville. "Fijan la época de la ruina de nuestras fábricas desde el reynado de Felipe II. y

V., these sixteen thousand looms had dwindled away to less than three hundred;[155] and, in a report which the Cortes made to Philip IV., in 1662, it is stated that the city contained only a quarter of its former number of inhabitants, and that even the vines and olives cultivated in its neighbourhood, and which comprised a considerable part of its wealth, were almost entirely neglected.[156] Toledo, in the middle of the sixteenth century, had upwards of fifty woollen manufactories; in 1665, it had only thirteen, almost the whole of the trade having been carried away by the Moriscoes, and established at Tunis.[157] Owing to the same cause, the art of manufacturing silk, for which Toledo was celebrated, was entirely lost, and nearly forty thousand persons, who depended on it, were deprived of their means of support.[158] Other branches of industry shared the same fate. In the sixteenth century, and early in the seventeenth, Spain enjoyed great repute for the manufacture of gloves, which were made in enormous quantities, and shipped to many parts, being particularly valued in England and France, and being also exported to the Indies. But Martinez de Mata, who wrote in the year 1655, assures us that at that time this source of wealth had disappeared; the manufacture of gloves having quite ceased, though formerly, he says, it had existed in every city in Spain.[159] In the once-flourishing province of Castile, every thing was going to ruin. Even Segovia lost its manufactures, and retained nothing but the memory of

añaden 'haber llegado á tener solo en esta ciudad el arte mayor, y menor de la sede, el número de mas de diez y seis mil telares, y se ocupaban en los exercicios adherentes á él, mas de ciento treinta mil personas de ambos sexos.'" *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. i. p. 473, Madrid, 1775. See also, *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, p. 14, "diez y seis mil telares;" where, however, no authority is quoted.

[155] "El principal origen y causa de que los 16,000 telares de seda, lana, oro y plata, que se contaban en Sevilla, se hallen oy reducidos á menos de 300." *Uztariz, Theorica de Comercio*, p. 243.

[156] *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 52, who refers to the report of the Cortes published by Alonso Nunez de Castro.

[157] *Laborde's Spain*, vol. iv. p. 338, where it is also said, that Tunis became, in consequence of the expulsion of the Moriscoes, famous for the manufacture of caps, which "were subsequently imitated at Orleans." Compare, on the cap-manufactories of Tunis, a note in *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iv. p. 249.

[158] "Tolède où se mettaient en œuvre 435,000 livres de soie, avait déjà perdu ce travail, qui suffisait autrefois à l'existence de 38,484 personnes. La population de cette ville avait éprouvé un tiers de diminution, et vingt-cinq maisons de ses familles les plus illustres étaient passées dans le domaine de divers couvens." *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 50.

[159] See his interesting essay, reprinted in the appendix to *Campomanes*, vol. iv. p. 251. He says, "La fábrica de los guantes, que tenian pocos años ha todas las ciudades de estos reynos para el consumo de españa y las indias, era muy considerable; y se ha destruido, despues que se dió entrada al consumo de guantes estrangeros." Such a statement, made by a contemporary, is unimpeachable; but the reason he assigns, is inadequate.

its former wealth.[160] The decay of Burgos was equally rapid; the trade of that famous city perished; and the deserted streets and empty houses formed such a picture of desolation, that a contemporary, struck by the havoc, emphatically declared that Burgos had lost every thing except its name.[161] In other districts, the results were equally fatal. The beautiful provinces of the south, richly endowed by nature, had formerly been so wealthy, that their contributions alone sufficed, in time of need, to replenish the imperial treasury; but they now deteriorated with such rapidity, that, by the year 1640, it was found hardly possible to impose a tax on them which would be productive.[162] During the latter half of the seventeenth century,

[160] Segovia, as it appeared in 1659, is thus described in *Boisel, Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1669, 4to, p. 186: "Autresfois, cette ville qui paroist assez grande, estoit fort riche, tant à cause que les rois de Castille y demeuroient, qu'à cause du grand commerce des laines et des beaux draps qui s'y faisoient; mais à present le trafic n'y est plus, et on n'y fait plus que fort peu de draps, de sorte que la ville est presque desert et fort pauvre. Une marque de sa pauvreté, du mauvais ordre d'Espagne, et du peu de prévoyance des Espagnols (quoy qu'on dise de leur flegme) c'est que le jour que j'y arrivay jusques à deux heures après midy il n'y avoit point eu de pain en toute la ville, et ils ne s'en étonnoient point." The decline of the silk and wool manufactures of Segovia is also noticed by Martinez de la Mata, who wrote in 1650. See his *Dos Discursos*, edited by Canga, Madrid, 1794, p. 8. Saint Simon, who was there in 1722, says, "A l'égard de leurs laines, j'en vis les manufactures à Ségovie qui me parurent peu de chose et fort tombées de leur ancienne réputation." *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. xxxvii. p. 230, Paris, 1841. Segovia used to be famous for the beautiful colour of its cloth, the dye of which was taken from a shell-fish found in the West Indies, and is supposed to be the same as the purpura of the ancients. See a note in *Dillon's Spain*, Dublin, 1781, pp. 19, 20.

[161] Such is the language of a Spaniard in the middle of the seventeenth century. "Porque á la ciudad de Burgos, cabeza de Castilla, no le ha quedado sino el nombre, ni aun vestigios de sus ruinas; reducida la grandeza de sus tratos, Prior, y Cónsules, y ordenanzas para la conservacion de ellos, á 600 vecinos, que conservan el nombre, y lustre de aquella antigua y noble ciudad, que encerró en sí mas de seis mil, sin la gente suelta, natural, y forastera." *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion*, vol. i. p. 453, Madrid, 1775. An intelligent Dutchman, who visited Spain in 1655, says of Burgos, "elle a esté autrefois fort marchande, mais depuis peu, elle a presque perdu tout son commerce." *Aarsens de Sommerdyck, Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1665, 4to, p. 16. To me, it certainly appears that facts of this sort have more to do with the real history of Spain than the details of kings, and treaties, and battles, which the Spanish historians love to accumulate.

[162] "Could contribute little to the exigencies of the state." *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 285. Compare *Lamentos Apologéticos*, in *Dos Discursos*, edit. Canga, Madrid, 1794, p. 82, on the state of things in "lo mas fértil de Andalucía." The government first became alive to all this when it found that no more money could be wrung from the people. In May 1667, a council of state, convoked by the queen, reported that "quant aux ressources qu'on voudrait tirer de l'Espagne, sous forme de dons volontaires ou autrement, le conseil estime qu'il est bien difficile d'imposer aux peuples des charges nouvelles;" and, in November of that same year, at another meeting of the council, a memoir was drawn up, stating that "depuis le règne de Don Ferdinand le Catholique jusqu'à ce jour, la monarchie d'Espagne ne s'est pas encore vue si près de sa ruine, si épuisée, si dénuée des ressources nécessaires pour faire face à un grand péril." See extracts from the proceedings of the Councils, published, for, I believe, the first time, by M. Mignet, in his *Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 124, 601, Paris, 1835, 4to. See also,

matters became still worse, and the poverty and wretchedness of the people surpass all description. In the villages near Madrid, the inhabitants were literally famishing; and those farmers who had a stock of food refused to sell it, because, much as they needed money, they were apprehensive of seeing their families perish around them. The consequence was, that the capital was in danger of being starved; and ordinary threats producing no effect, it was found necessary, in 1664, that the President of Castile, with an armed force, and accompanied by the public executioner, should visit the adjacent villages, and compel the inhabitants to bring their supplies to the markets of Madrid.[163] All over Spain, the same destitution prevailed. That once rich and prosperous country was covered with a rabble of monks and clergy, whose insatiate rapacity absorbed the little wealth yet to be found. Hence it happened, that the government, though almost penniless, could obtain no supplies. The tax-gatherers, urged to make up the deficiency, adopted the most desperate expedients. They not only seized the beds and all the furniture, but they unroofed the houses, and sold the materials of the roof, for whatever they would fetch. The inhabitants were forced to fly; the fields were left uncultivated; vast multitudes died from want and exposure; entire villages were deserted; and in many of the towns, upwards of two-thirds of the houses were, by the end of the seventeenth century, utterly destroyed.[164]

in the same valuable work, vol. ii. p. 127, a letter to Louis XIV. from his ambassador at Madrid, dated 2d June 1667, and stating that "l'extrémité est ici si grande qu'il se fait une contribution volontaire de tous les particuliers que l'on appelle *donativo*, pour fournir quelque argent présent pour les nécessités publiques."

[163] In 1664, Sir Richard Fanshawe writes from Madrid to Secretary Bennet, "Since my last to you, of yesterday, the President of Castile, having, by the king's special and angry command, gone forth to the neighbouring villages, attended with the hangman, and whatsoever else of terror incident to his place and derogatory to his person, the markets in this town begin to be furnished again plentifully enough." *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe, written by herself*, edit. London, 1830, p. 291.

[164] Nothing but the precise and uncontradicted evidence of a contemporary witness, could make such things credible. In 1686, Alvarez Osorio y Redin wrote his *Discursos*. They were published in 1687 and 1688; they were reprinted at Madrid in 1775; and from the reprint, pp. 345-348, I extract the following particulars: "Es preciso decir con la mayor brevedad, que pide el asunto, en la forma que los comisionantes continuamente están saqueando todos los lugares, con capa de servir á V. M. Entran en ellos, intíman sus comisiones á las justicias, y ellas les suplican, tengan misericordia de los moradores, que están con mucha necesidad. Y luego que toman el uso, dicen: que á ellos no les toca dispensar en hacer gracias: que traen orden de cobrar con todo rigor las cantidades, que deben los lugares; y tambien dicen han de cobrar sus salarios. Y se van entrando por las casas de los pobres labradores, y demás vecinos; y con mucha cuenta y razon, les quitan el poco dinero, que tienen: y á los que no tienen, les sacan prendas: y donde no las hallan, les quitan las pobres camas, en que duermen: y se detienen en vender las prendas, todo el tiempo que pueden." . . . "Los saquéos referidos van continuando, obligando á los mas vecinos de los lugares, á que se vayan huyendo de sus casas,

In the midst of these calamities, the spirit and energy of Spain were extinguished. In every department, all power and life disappeared. The Spanish troops were defeated at Rocroy in 1643; and several writers ascribe to that battle the destruction of the military reputation of Spain.[165] This, however, was only one of many symptoms.[166] In 1656, it was proposed to fit out a small fleet; but the fisheries on the coast had so declined, that it was found impossible to procure sailors enough to man even the few ships which were required.[167] The charts

dexando baldías sus haciendas de campo; y los cobradores no tienen lástima de todas estas miserias, y asolaciones, como si entráran en lugares de enemigos. Las casas, que hallan vacías, si hay quien se las compre, las venden: y quando no pueden venderlas, las quitan los texados; y venden la texa, y madera por qualquier dinero. Con esta destruicion general, no han quedado en pie en los lugares la tercera parte de casas, y se han muerto de necesidad gran multitud de personas. Con lo qual los lugares no tienen la mitad de familias, que antiguamente habia en España. Y si no se pone remedio á todo referido, será preciso, que la vengan á poblar de otros Reynos."

[165] "Allí acabó aquella antigua milicia española que desde el tiempo de los reyes católicos habia ganado tan gloriosos triunfos, siendo el terror de sus enemigos." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iii. p. 150, Madrid, 1840. "La batalla de Rocroy, en que el jóven Condé recogió los laureles con que engalanó la dorada cuna del niño Luis XIV., acabó con la reputacion que aun habian podido ir conservando los viejos tercios españoles de Flandres." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xvii. p. 368, Madrid, 1856.

[166] In the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. i. p. 275, Oxford, 1767, folio, I find a letter written by Hopton to Secretary Windebank, dated Madrid, 31st May 1635. The author of this official communication gives an account of the Spanish troops just raised, and says, "I have observed these levies, and I find the horses are so weak, as the most of them will never be able to go to the rendez-vous, and those very hardly gotten, the infantry so unwilling to serve, as they are carried, like galley-slaves, in chains, which serves not the turn, and so far short of the number that was proposed, as they come not to one of three." This was eight years before the battle of Rocroy; after it, matters became rapidly worse. A letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, dated Madrid, 18th March 1649-50, states, that Spanish "affairs are really in huge disorder, and capable of being rendered almost desperate;" and another letter, on 14th April 1650, "if some miracle do not preserve them, this crown must be speedily destroyed." *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 13, 17, Oxford, 1786. An official report on the Netherlands, presented to Louis XIV. in 1655, declares that the Dutch "considered Spain so weakened, as to be out of condition to renew the war within the next one hundred years." *Raumer's History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, illustrated by Original Documents*, London, 1835, vol. i. p. 237. See also *Mignet, Négociations Relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, Paris, 1835-1842, 4to, vol. i. pp. 37, 38, 314, 315, vol. iii. p. 684, vol. iv. p. 218; and *L'Estat de l'Espagne*, Geneve, 1681, pp. 83, 271. "L'Espagne faisant en nos jours plus de pitié que de peur à ceux qu'elle a tenus long-tems dans une crainte perpetuelle, et dans une respectueuse veneration." . . . . "Aussi peut-on dire que les Espagnols qui étoient autrefois des lions, on des véritables hommes et incomparables en valeur, sont maintenant des cerfs, ou des femmes, et enfin des personnes peu propres à la guerre." And finally, the Spanish explanation of all this, in *Yañes Memorias*, Prologo, pp. 148, 149, Madrid, 1723. "La Monarquia de España, cuya decadencia la avia yá Dios decretado desde el año de 1621," &c.; blasphemously ascribing to the Almighty, what was the result of their own folly, and obstinately shutting their eyes to the real cause of their ruin.

[167] "A century ago, Spain had been as supreme at sea as on land; her ordinary naval force was 140 gallies, which were the terror both of the Mediterranean and Atlantic. But now" (1656), "in consequence of the decline of commerce and

which had been made, were either lost or neglected; and the ignorance of the Spanish pilots became so notorious, that no one was willing to trust them.[168] As to the military service, it is stated, in an account of Spain late in the seventeenth century, that most of the troops had deserted their colours, and that the few who were faithful were clothed in rags, received no pay, and were dying of hunger.[169] Another account describes this once mighty kingdom as utterly unprotected; the frontier towns ungarrisoned; the fortifications dilapidated and crumbling away; the magazines without ammunition; the arsenals empty; the workshops unemployed; and even the art of building ships entirely lost.[170]

fisheries on the coast, instead of the numerous squadrons of the Dorias and Mendozas, which were wont to attend the movements of the first great John of Austria and the Emperor Charles, the present High-Admiral of Spain, and favourite son of its monarch, put to sea with three wretched gallies, which, with difficulty, escaped from some Algerine corsairs, and were afterwards nearly shipwrecked on the coast of Africa." *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 549. In 1663, "Il n'y avait à Cadix ni vaisseaux ni galères en état d'aller en mer. Les Maures insultaient audacieusement les côtes de l'Andalousie, et prenaient impunément les barques qui se hasardaient à une lieue de la rade. Le duc d'Albuquerque, qui commandait les forces navales, se plaignait hautement de la position humiliante dans laquelle en le laissait. Il avait demandé avec instance qu'on lui donnât des matelots et des soldats pour mettre sur les vaisseaux; mais le Compte de Castrillo, président du conseil de finances (de la *hacienda*) avait déclaré qu'il n'avait ni argent, ni la possibilité d'en trouver, et conseillait de renoncer à l'armée navale." *Mignet, Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, vol. i. pp. 315, 316, Paris, 1835, 4to, from contemporary manuscripts. Even in 1648, Spain had "become so feeble in point of naval affairs as to be obliged to hire Dutch vessels for carrying on her American commerce." *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 435, London, 1805, 4to. And, to complete the chain of evidence, there is a letter in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 86, Oxford, 1773, folio, written from Madrid in June 1640, stating that, "For ships they have few, mariners fewer, landmen not so many as they need, and, by all signs, money not at all that can be spared." The history of Spain during this period never having been written, I am compelled, in my own justification, to give these and similar passages with a fulness which I fear will weary some readers.

[168] And when they did, it was to their own cost, as Stanhope found, at the beginning of his career as British Minister to the court of Madrid, in 1690. See his letter to Lord Shrewsbury, in *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, London, 1840, p. 3. "We were forced into a small port, called Ferrol, three leagues short of the Groyne, and, by the ignorance of a Spanish pilot, our ships fell foul one with another, and the admiral's ship was on ground for some hours, but got off clear without any damage." Indeed, the Spanish seamen, once the boldest and most skilful navigators in the world, so degenerated, that, early in the eighteenth century, we find it stated as a matter of course, that, "to form the Spaniard to marine affairs, is transporting them into unknown countries." *The History of Cardinal Alberoni*, London, 1719, p. 257.

[169] "Le peu de soldats qui résistaient à la désertion, étaient vêtus de haillons, sans solde, sans pain." *Mémoires de Louville*, edit. Paris, 1818, vol. i. p. 72. "Dans l'état le plus misérable." p. 43. Compare Lafuente, in the reign of Philip IV. (*Historia*, vol. xvi. p. 519), "los soldados peleaban andrajosos y medio desnudos;" and D'Aulnoy, in 1679 (*Relation du Voyaye d'Espagne*, vol. i. p. 168), "Il est rare que dans tout un regiment, il se trouve deux soldats qui ayent plus d'une chemise."

[170] "Ruinosos los muros de sus fortalezas, aún tenía Barcelona abiertas las brechas, que hizo el duque de Vendoma; y desde Rosas hasta Cadiz, no habia Al-

While the country at large was thus languishing, as if it had been stricken by some mortal distemper, the most horrible scenes were occurring in the capital, under the eyes of the sovereign. The inhabitants of Madrid were starving; and the arbitrary measures which had been adopted to supply them with food, could only produce temporary relief. Many persons fell down in the streets exhausted, and died where they fell; others were seen in the public highway evidently dying, but no one had wherewithal to feed them. At length the people became desperate, and threw off all control. In 1680, not only the workmen of Madrid, but large numbers of the tradesmen, organized themselves into bands, broke open private houses, and robbed and murdered the inhabitants in the face of day.[171] During the remaining twenty years of the seventeenth century, the capital was in a state, not of insurrection, but of anarchy. Society was loosened, and seemed to be resolving itself into its elements. To use the emphatic language of a contemporary, liberty and restraint were equally unknown.[172] The ordinary functions of the executive government were suspended. The police of Madrid, unable to obtain the arrears of their pay, disbanded, and gave themselves up to rapine. Nor did there seem any means of remedying these evils. The exchequer was empty, and it was impossible to replenish it. Such was the poverty of the court, that money was wanting to pay the wages of the king's private servants, and to meet the daily expenses of his household.[173] In 1693, payment was suspended of every life-

cazar, ni Castillo, no solo presidiado, pero ni montada su artillería. La misma negligencia se admiraba en los puertos de Vizcaya, y Galicia; no tenian los almazenes sus provisiones, faltaban fundidores de armas, y las que habia, eran de ningun uso. Vacios los arsenales y astilleros, se habia olvidado el arte de construir naves, y no tenia el Rey mas que las destinadas al comercio de Indias, y algunos galeones; seis galeras, consumidas del tiempo, y del ocio, se ancoraban en Cartagena." *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. p. 43. Another eye-witness describes "the best fortresses consisting of ruined walls, mounted with here and there a rusty cannon, and the man thought an able engineer who knew how to fire them." *Ripperda's Memoirs*, second edition, London, 1740, p. 227.

[171] *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. ii. pp. 224, 225. In 1680, Madame de Villars, the wife of the French ambassador, writes from Madrid, that such was the state of affairs there, that her husband thought it advisable that she should return home. *Lettres de Madame de Villars*, Amsterdam, 1759, p. 169. A letter written by the Danish ambassador, in 1677, describes every house in Madrid as regularly armed from top to bottom; "de haut en bas." *Mignet, Négociations relatives à la Succession*, vol. iv. p. 638, Paris, 1842, 4to. The deaths from starvation are said to have been particularly numerous in Andalusia. See *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iii. p. 167. "En Andalucia especialmente moria mucha gente de hambre, y el consulado de Sevilla envió una diputacion para representar que aquella ciudad habia quedado reducida á la cuarta parte de la poblacion que habia tenido cincuenta años antes." On the state of the people generally, in 1680, compare *Lettres de Villars*, pp. 145, 152, 161.

[172] "Point de libertés et point de frein." *Mém. de Louville*, vol. i. p. 68.

[173] In 1681, the French ambassadress writes from Madrid, "Je ne vous parle

pension; and all officers and ministers of the crown were mulcted of one-third of their salaries.[174] Nothing, however, could arrest the mischief. Famine and poverty continued to increase;[175] and, in 1699, Stanhope, the British minister then residing in Madrid, writes that never a day passed in which people were not killed in the streets scuffling for bread; that his own secretary had seen five women stifled to death by the crowd before a bakehouse; and that, to swell the catalogue of misery, upwards of twenty thousand additional beggars from the country had recently flocked into the capital.[176]

point de la misere de ce royaume. La faim est jusques dans le palais. J'étois hier avec huit ou dix camaristes, et la Moline, qui disoient qu'il y avoit fort longtems qu'on ne leur donnoit plus ni pain ni viande. Aux écuries du roi et de la reine, de même." *Lettres de Madame la Marquise de Villars*, Amsterdam, 1759, pp. 216, 217. The year after Charles II. died: "Il n'y avoit pas de fonds pour les choses les plus nécessaires, pour la cuisine, l'écurie, les valets de pied," &c. *Millot, Mémoires du Duc de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 26, ed. Petitot, Paris, 1828. Among other reckless expedients, the currency was so depreciated, that, in a letter from Martin to Dr. Fraser, dated Madrid, March 6th, 1680, we hear of "the fall of money to one-fourth part of its former value." *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. v. p. 187, Aberdeen, 4to, 1852.

[174] "The king has taken away, by a late decree, a third part of all wages and salaries of all officers and ministers without exception, and suspended for the ensuing year, 1694, all pensions for life granted either by himself or his father." Letter from the English ambassador, dated Madrid, November 18th, 1693, in *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, London, 1840, p. 40. This is also stated in *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. i. p. 359, Paris, 1828; "retranchant le tiers des dépenses de sa maison, et des appointemens de ses officiers tant militaires que civils." In the preceding reign, the pensions had been stopped, at all events for a time. In 1650, Sir Edward Hyde writes from Madrid, "there is an universal stop of all pensions which have been granted formerly." *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 538, Oxford, 1773. The next step which was taken was a proposal, in 1667, to tax the salaries of the members of the Councils of Castile, Arragon, &c.; but this idea was abandoned, until at length, they, like all other public servants, came under the comprehensive edict of 1693. See the letter from the French ambassador to Louis XIV., dated Madrid, June 2d, 1667, in *Mignet, Négociations*, vol. ii. p. 128, Paris, 1835, 4to. The only chance of recovering the history of Spain in the seventeenth century, is by collating these and similar documents with the meagre notices to be found in Spanish writers.

[175] In 1695, "the miserable poverty in this country." *Travels through Spain, performed by a Gentleman*, London, 1702, p. 62. And, in the same year, "L'Espagne, manquant de tout, d'hommes, et d'argent." *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. i. p. 402. "L'Espagne, presque anéantie." p. 424.

[176] See the letters in *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, pp. 138-140. On the 21st of May, "We have an addition of above 20,000 beggars, flocked from the country round, to share in that little here is, who were starving at home, and look like ghosts." On the 27th of May, "The scarcity of bread is growing on apace towards a famine, which increases, by vast multitudes of poor that swarm in upon us from the countries round about. I shifted the best I could till this day, but the difficulty of getting any without authority, has made me recur to the Corregidor, as most of the foreign Ministers had done before; he, very courteously, after inquiring what my family was, gave me an order for twenty loaves every day; but I must send two leagues, to Vallejas, to fetch it, as I have done this night, and my servants with long guns to secure it when they have it, otherwise it would be taken from them, for several people are killed every day in the streets in scuffles for bread, all being lawful prize that any body can catch." . . . . "My secretary, Don Francisco, saw yesterday five poor women stifled to death by the crowd before a bakehouse."

If this state of things had continued for another generation, the wildest anarchy must have ensued, and the whole frame of society been broken up.[177] The only chance of saving Spain from a relapse into barbarism, was that it should fall, and fall quickly, under foreign dominion. Such a change was indispensable; and there was reason to fear, that it might come in a form which would have been inexpressibly odious to the nation. For, late in the seventeenth century, Ceuta was besieged by the Mohammedans; and as the Spanish government had neither troops nor ships, the greatest apprehensions were entertained respecting the fate of this important fortress; there being little doubt, that if it fell, Spain would be again overrun by the infidels, who, this time, at least, would have found little difficulty in dealing with a people weakened by suffering, half famished, and almost worn out.[178]

Fortunately, in the year 1700, when affairs were at their worst, Charles II., the idiot king, died; and Spain fell into the hands of Philip V., the grandson of Louis XIV. This change from the Austrian dynasty to the Bourbon,[179] brought with it many other changes. Philip, who reigned from 1700 to 1746,[180] was a Frenchman, not only by birth and education, but also in feelings and habits.[181] Just before he entered Spain, Louis charged him never to forget that he was a native of France,

[177] Even M. Lafuente, who, having used scarcely any of the authorities which I have quoted in the last few pages, can have no adequate idea of the utter wretchedness of Spain, confesses that "Jamás monarca ni pueblo alguno se vieron en tan lastimosa situacion y en tan mísero trance como se hallaron en este tiempo" (1699) "Cárlos II. y la España." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xvii. p. 426, Madrid, 1856.

[178] "Les Maures d'Afrique assiégeoient Ceuta. Le roi d'Espagne manquait non-seulement de troupes, mais de vaisseaux pour transporter le peu de secours qu'il pouvoit y envoyer: Louis XIV. lui fit offrir les troupes et les vaisseaux dont il auroit besoin. Il s'agissoit non-seulement de conserver Ceuta, mais de plus oran; par conséquent d'empêcher la prise de deux places dont la conquête facilitoit aux Maures un retour en Espagne." *Mémoires du Marquis de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 46, ed. Paris, 1828. Respecting the attacks made on Ceuta, from 1696 to 1698, see *Ortiz, Compendio de la Historia de España*, vol. vi. pp. 556, 557, 561.

[179] A celebrated modern writer has made some remarks upon this, which are too apposite to be omitted. "Con el siglo xvii. acabó tambien la dinastía austriaca en España, dejando á esta nacion pobre, despoblada, sin fuerzas marítimas ni terrestres, y por consiguiente á merced de las demas potencias que intentaron repartir entre sí sus colonias y provincias. Así habia desparecido en poco mas de un siglo aquella grandeza y poderío, aquella fuerza y heroismo, aquella cultura é ilustracion con que habia descollado entre todas las naciones." *Biografía de Ensenada*, in *Navarrete, Opúsculos*, vol. ii. p. 5, Madrid, 1848.

[180] Except during the short interregnum of Louis, in 1724, which only lasted a few months, and during which, the boy, though called king, exercised no real power, and Philip remained the actual ruler. "Aun el nuevo rey no resolvia negocio de consideracion sin asenso de su padre." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 374.

[181] Saint Simon, who knew Philip well, and who was in Spain in 1721 and 1722, says of him, "L'amour de la France lui sortait de partout." *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. xxxvii. p. 8, Paris, 1841. And, in 1746, shortly before his death,

the throne of which he might some day ascend.[182] After he became king, he neglected the Spaniards, despised their advice, and threw all the power he could command into the hands of his own countrymen.[183] The affairs of Spain were now administered by subjects of Louis XIV., whose ambassador at Madrid frequently performed the functions of prime minister.[184] What had once been the most powerful monarchy in the world, became little else than a province of France; all important matters being decided in Paris, from whence Philip himself received his instructions.[185]

The truth is, that Spain, broken and prostrate, was unable to supply ability of any kind; and if the government of the country was to be carried on, it was absolutely necessary that foreigners should be called in.[186] Even in 1682, that is,

Noailles writes from Aranjuez, "Ce prince a le cœur tout français." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iv. p. 191, Paris, 1829.

[182] "N'oubliez jamais que vous êtes Français, et ce qui peut vous arriver." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 6. Compare *Coxe's Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain*, London, 1815, vol. i. p. 103.

[183] In 1702, Philip "parlait moins que jamais, et seulement aux Français, comme s'ils eussent été les seuls êtres de son espèce." *Memoires de Louville*, vol. i. p. 276. "Le dégoût que Philippe laissait voir pour sa cour espagnole." p. 333. A Spanish statesman, celebrated, or, I would rather say, notorious, at the close of the century, indignantly exclaims, "It was on the accession of the Bourbon dynasty, that foreigners came to govern us on our native soil." *Godoy's Memoirs*, ed. London, 1836, vol. ii. p. 271.

[184] In 1701, it was the duty of the French ambassador, "qu'il pût au besoin être premier ministre d'Espagne." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 31; "que l'ambassadeur de sa Majesté soit ministre du roi Catholique; que, sans en avoir le titre, il en exerce les fonctions; qu'il aide au roi d'Espagne à connoître l'état de ses affaires, et à gouverner par lui-même." p. 55. In 1702, Marsin writes to Louis XIV., "Comme il est absolument nécessaire que l'ambassadeur de Votre Majesté en Espagne ait un crédit sans bornes auprès du Roy son petit-fils." p. 183. In 1705, Amelot, the French ambassador, "décidoit de tout en Espagne." *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. ii. p. 165; and, in 1706, "étant à la tête des affaires, et joignant presque les fonctions de premier ministre à celles d'ambassadeur." *Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 398.

[185] In 1703, "Il est clair que l'embarras de Philippe venoit surtout de la crainte que ses décisions ne fussent point approuvées en France, où toutes les affaires importantes se décidoient." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 244. "The king of France had always certain persons at Madrid, which composed a Council, of which that of Versailles was the soul; and whose members were all creatures of the French Court, and sent to Madrid from time to time to direct all affairs there, according to the views of the Most Christian King, and to give him an account of every thing that passed in the Councils of the Escurial. Alberoni got to be initiated in the mysteries of this cabal." *History of Cardinal Alberoni*, London, 1719, p. 70.

The Spanish historians are not very fond of admitting this unquestionable fact; but Bucallar, after mentioning the influence of the French Ambassador, frankly adds: "Desde entonces tomaron tanta mano sobre los de España los ministros Franceses, que dieron mas zelos á los Principes, viendo estrechar la union á un grado, que todo se ponía el arbitrio de Luis XIV." *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. p. 33.

[186] Even the veteran diplomatist, Torcy, was so struck by the escape of Spain from complete ruin, that he ascribes its change of masters to the direct interference

eighteen years before the accession of Philip V., there was not to be found a single native well acquainted with the art of war; so that Charles II. was obliged to intrust the military defence of the Spanish Netherlands to De Grana, the Austrian ambassador at Madrid.[187] When, therefore, the War of the Succession broke out, in 1702, even the Spaniards themselves desired that their troops should be commanded by a foreigner.[188] In 1704, the extraordinary spectacle was exhibited of the Duke of Berwick, an Englishman, leading Spanish soldiers against the enemy, and being in fact generalissimo of the Spanish army.[189] The King of Spain, dissatisfied with his proceedings, determined to remove him; but, instead of filling his place with a native, he applied to Louis XIV. for another general; and this important post was confided to Marshal Tessé, a Frenchman.[190] A little later, Berwick was again summoned to Madrid, and

of the Deity. "Sa seule puissance avait placé Philippe V. sur le trône d'Espagne; elle seule pouvoit l'y maintenir; les hommes n'avaient pas conduit se grand événement." *Mémoires de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 333. "Le trône où Dieu l'avait placé." p. 401. See also vol. ii. pp. 3, 227. "The Spanish people received him with unhesitating obedience to the deceased king's will, and rejoiced at the prospect of a rule that would at least have the merit of being different from that under which they had so long withered." *Memoirs of Peterborough*, London, 1853, vol. i. p. 102. "Muchos españoles recibieron por su soberano á Felipe V., cansados de la dominacion de la casa de Austria. Esperaban de la mudanza de la dinastia la felicidad y el buen gobierno." *Castro*, *Decadencia de España*, Cadiz, 1852, p. 181. To the same effect, *Millot*, *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. i. pp. 420, 426, vol. ii. p. 9.

[187] He "committed the military defence of these provinces to the Marquis of Grana, the Austrian ambassador at Madrid, from the want of any Spanish commander whose courage or military endowments qualified him to repel such an enemy as the King of France." *Dunlop's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 232. Compare, on the want of Spanish generals, *Mémoires du Maréchal de Gramont*, vol. ii. p. 82, edit. Paris, 1827. The opinion which Grana himself formed of the Spanish government, may be learned from a conversation which he held at Madrid, in 1680, with the French ambassadress, and which is preserved in her correspondence. *Lettres de Madame la Marquise de Villars*, Amsterdam, 1759, pp. 118, 119.

[188] See the letter of Philip V. to Louis XIV., dated June 22, 1703, in *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257, Paris, 1828, edit. Petitot.

[189] See *Bacallar*, *Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. pp. 137, 166, where he is called "el Duque de Bervich." His own account is, "J'arrivai à Madrid le 15 février" (1704), "où d'abord S. M. Catholique me fit Capitaine Général de ses armées. *Mémoires de Berwick*, Paris, 1778, vol. i. p. 227; and see p. xxv. No one would suppose this, from the observations of M. Lafuente, in his *Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 80, Madrid, 1857.

[190] "Philippe n'étoit pas content de Berwick, ou plutôt il témoigna ne le pas être, et il demanda un autre général à Louis XIV. On lui envoya le maréchal de Tessé, pour qui il avoit montré du penchant." *Millot*, *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 331. Berwick himself ascribes his dismissal to the influence of Gramont and of the Queen of Spain. *Mémoires de Berwick*, vol. i. pp. 269-273. At all events, the new general became supreme. In December 1705, the Princess des Ursins writes from Madrid to Madame de Maintenon, "M. le maréchal de Tessé, quand il est à Madrid, est consulté, et décide sur toutes les affaires, *autant*, *pour le moins*, *que M. l'ambassadeur;* et lorsqu'il est à l'armée, il est le maître absolu non seulement des troupes de France, mais encore de celles d'Espagne, commandant aux capitaines-généraux, ses anciens, contre l'usage du pays." *Lettres inédites de Madame de Maintenon et de Madame la Princesse des Ursins*, vol. iii. p. 259, Paris, 1826.

ordered to put himself at the head of the Spanish troops, and defend Estremadura and Castile.[191] This he effected with complete success; and, in the battle of Almansa, which he fought in 1707, he overthrew the invaders, ruined the party of the pretender Charles,[192] and secured the seat of Philip on the throne.[193] As the war, however, still continued, Philip, in 1710, wrote to Paris for another general, and requested that the Duke de Vendôme might be sent to him.[194] This able commander, on his arrival, infused new vigour into the Spanish counsels, and utterly defeated the allies;[195] so that the war by which the independence of Spain was established, owed its success to the ability of foreigners, and to the fact that the campaigns were planned and conducted, not by natives, but by French and English generals.

[191] In 1706, "Le duc de Berwick, redemandé par Philippe V., arrivé à Madrid le 11 mars, avec le titre de maréchal de France, pour défendre l'Estramadure et la Castille, ayant rassemblé ce qu'il peut de troupes espagnoles, empêcha les ennemis d'entreprendre le siège de Badajoz." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 387. Philip "pria le Roi, son grand-père, d'envoyer un général pour commander sur les frontières de Portugal. Ce fut donc sur moi que le choix tomba." *Mémoires de Berwick*, vol. i. p. 305.

[192] In a recently published work (*Memoirs of Peterborough*, London, 1853, vol. i. pp. 148, 155, 161, 206, 210, vol. ii. pp. 34, 93), Charles is not only called King of Spain, which he never was, as Spain always refused to accept him, but, in the teeth of all history, he is actually termed Charles III.; while Philip V. is merely "Philip of Anjou." If this were allowed, the consequence would be, that the king whom the Spaniards now call Charles III., would have to change his appellation, and become Charles IV.; and Charles IV. would be changed into Charles V. It is really too much when mere biographers obtrude, in this way, their own little prepossessions into the vast field of history, and seek to efface its established nomenclature, because they are enamoured of the hero whose life they write.

[193] "This victory established the throne of Philip." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 136. "A victory which may be justly said to have saved Spain." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. i. p. 408. Even Ortiz allows that if Berwick had failed, Philip would have been ruined. "Esta batalla de Almansa, que las circunstancias hicieron ruidosa, comenzó á poner mejor la corona de España en la cabeza de Felipe V.; y se tuvo por indubitable que si la hubiera perdido, tambien hubiera perdido la corona." *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 116. See also *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 185. "Berwick, á quien, sin duda, debió su salvacion la España."

[194] "Sa réputation étoit grande et bien établie; le roi d'Espagne avoit été témoin de sa conduite en Lombardie; il demanda au Roi un général si capable de commander ses armées." *Mémoires de Torcy*, vol. i. p. 386. See also *History of Alberoni*, London, 1719, p. 45. "Le duc de Vendôme alloit enfin commander les troupes d'Espagne." *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iii. p. 12. According to Berwick, the offer was first made to himself. *Mémoires de Berwick*, vol. ii. pp. 106, 109. M. Lafuente, without quoting any authority, says (*Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 279), "Luego que se perdió la batalla de Zaragoza escribió Felipe al rey Cristianísimo, su abuelo, rogándole que, ya que no pudiera socorrerle con tropas, le enviára al menos *al duque de Berwick ó al de Vendome*." But, as Berwick must have had the means of knowing the real state of the case, he is probably correct in saying that the first application was in his own favour.

[195] "Vendôme arrived at this moment to call into action the spirit of the monarch and the zeal of his subjects." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. ii. p. 41. "The arrival of the Duke de Vendôme again changed the fate of Spain." *Memoirs of Peterborough*, vol. ii. p. 130.

In the same way, the finances were, by the end of the seventeenth century, in such deplorable confusion, that Portocarrero, who at the accession of Philip V. was the nominal minister of Spain, expressed a desire that they should be administered by some one sent from Paris, who could restore them.[196] He felt that no one in Spain was equal to the task, and he was by no means singular in this opinion. In 1701, Louville wrote to Torcy, that if a financier did not soon arrive from France, there would shortly be no finances to administer.[197] The choice fell upon Orry, who reached Madrid in the summer of 1701.[198] He found every thing in the most miserable condition; and the incompetence of the Spaniards was so obvious, that he was soon forced to undertake the management, not only of the finances, but also of the war-department. To save appearances, Canalez became the ostensible minister at war; but he, being completely ignorant of affairs, merely performed the drudgery of that office, the real duties of which were fulfilled by Orry himself.[199]

This dominion of the French continued, without interruption, until the second marriage of Philip V., in 1714, and the death of Louis XIV., in 1715, both of which events weakened their influence, and for a time almost destroyed it. The

[196] "Portocarrero, abrumado con las dificultades de la gobernacion, que excedian en mucho á sus escasas luces, no contento con haber inducido al rey á que aumentára su consejo de gabinete con dos ministros más, que fueron el marqués de Mancera, presidente del de Aragon, y el duque de Montalto, del de Italia, pidió á Luis XIV. le enviára una persona que pudiera establecer un plan de hacienda en España, y corregir y reformar los abusos de la administracion." *Lafuente*, *Historia de España*, vol. xviii. p. 15. On 22d June 1701, Louis XIV. writes to the Duc d'Harcourt, "Qu'enfin le cardinal Porto-Carrero m'a fait demander quelqu'un intelligent en matière de finances pour voir et connoître l'état de celles du roi d'Espagne, pour examiner les moyens les plus propres de soulager ses sujets, et de pourvoir aux plus pressans besoins du public; qu'il m'assure que *toute l'Espagne le désire en général:* toutes ces raisons m'ont déterminé à choisir le sieur Orry, pour l'envoyer à Madrid." *Millot*, *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 44.

[197] "Il faudra que l'homme que vous enverrez pour les finances (car vous aurez la bonté d'en envoyer un, ou bien nous n'aurons plus de finances)." *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. i. p. 149.

[198] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 181.

[199] "Canalez, qu'on a substitué à Rivas pour le département de la guerre, n'a aucun talent pour cet emploi, selon l'instruction; et toute l'Espagne voit clairement qu'Orry ne le lui a procuré qu'afin d'en exercer les fonctions sous le nom d'un Espagnol." *Millot*, *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 305; under the year 1704. See also, on the power of Orry in the war-department, *Mémoires de Berwick*, vol. i. pp. 226, 227, 306, 316, vol. ii. p. 166. Berwick, who hated Orry, says of him (vol. i. p. 232), "il se mêloit de tout et faisoit tout." But there can be no doubt of his being a man of very considerable ability; and M. Lafuente (*Historia de España*, vol. xix. p. 253, Madrid, 1857) candidly says, "Es lo cierto que hizo abrir mucho los ojos de los españoles en materia de administracion." Compare vol. xviii. p. 369; *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. vii. pp. 102, 195, Paris, 1842; and *Bacallar*, *Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. i. pp. 82, 83, 99, 168, vol. ii. pp. 95, 107. Bacallar treats him harshly.

authority, however, which they lost, was transferred, not to Spaniards, but to other foreigners. Between 1714 and 1726, the two most powerful and conspicuous men in Spain were Alberoni, an Italian, and Ripperda, a Dutchman. Ripperda was dismissed in 1726;[200] and after his fall, the affairs of Spain were controlled by Konigseg, who was a German, and who, indeed, was the Austrian ambassador residing at Madrid.[201] Even Grimaldo, who held office before and after the dismissal of Ripperda, was a disciple of the French school, and had been brought up under Orry.[202] All this was not the result of accident, nor is it to be ascribed to the caprice of the court. In Spain, the national spirit had so died away, that none but foreigners, or men imbued with foreign ideas, were equal to the duties of government. To the evidence already quoted on this point, I will add two other testimonies. Noailles, a very fair judge, and by no means prejudiced against the Spaniards, emphatically stated, in 1710, that, notwithstanding their loyalty, they were incapable of ruling, inasmuch as they were ignorant both of war and of politics.[203] In 1711, Bonnac mentions that a resolution had been formed to place no Spaniard at the head of affairs, because those hitherto employed had proved to be either unfortunate or unfaithful.[204]

[200] *Ripperda's Memoirs*, London, 1740, second edition, pp. 117, 118. Saint Simon (*Mémoires*, vol. xxxvi. p. 246) says, that Ripperda was "premier ministre aussi absolu que le fut jamais son prédécesseur, Alberoni." The English pamphleteers and politicians of the last century were very unjust to Alberoni, who, notwithstanding the dangerous boldness of his nature, was one of the best ministers who ever governed Spain. M. Lafuente, while admitting his faults, says (*Historia de España*, vol. xix. pp. 437, 438), "Negarle gran capacidad seria una gran injusticia. Tampoco puede desconocerse que reanimó y regeneró la España, levantándola á un grado de esplendor y de grandeza en que nunca se habia vuelto á ver desde los mejores tiempos de Felipe II." See also a good summary of what he did for Spain, in *Tapia*, *Historia de la Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iv. pp. 50, 51.

[201] "The all-powerful Konigseg." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iii. p. 154; "the prime mover of the Spanish counsels." p. 159; in 1727-8, "Konigseg usurped the control over every operation of government." p. 190; and see p. 235. His great power is likewise noticed in *Lafuente*, *Historia de España*, vol. xix. p. 71: "el hombre de mas influjo y valimiento en la córte."

[202] "Originally a clerk under Orri, he gained the favour of his employer," &c. *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iii. p. 39. Coxe had access to a large mass of letters, which were written in the eighteenth century, by persons connected with Spain, and many of which are still unpublished. This makes his book very valuable; and, as a recital of political events, it is superior to any thing the Spaniards have produced, though the author is, I need hardly say, far inferior to M. Lafuente as a writer, and also as an artistic arranger of facts.

[203] "Que les Espagnols depuis longtemps ignoroient la guerre et la politique; qu'on devoit être sensible à leurs démonstrations d'attachement et de zèle, sans les croire suffisantes pour soutenir un Etat" . . . . "l'incapacité des sujets pour le gouvernement." *Millot*, *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iii. pp. 24, 25.

[204] "C'étoit un parti pris, comme l'observe Bonnac, de ne plus mettre le gouvernement entre leurs mains. On avoit trouvé parmi eux peu d'hommes capables des grands emplois: ceux à qui on les avoit confiés, malheureux ou infidèles, avoient

The government of Spain, being taken from the Spaniards, now began to show some signs of vigour. The change was slight, but it was in the right direction, though, as we shall presently see, it could not regenerate Spain, owing to the unfavourable operation of general causes. Still, the intention was good. For the first time, attempts were made to vindicate the rights of laymen, and to diminish the authority of ecclesiastics. Scarcely had the French established their dominion, when they suggested that it might be advisable to relieve the necessities of the state, by compelling the clergy to give up some of the wealth which they had accumulated in their churches.[205] Even Louis XIV. insisted that the important office of President of Castile should not be conferred on an ecclesiastic, because, he said, in Spain the priests and monks had already too much power.[206] Orry, who for several years possessed immense influence, exerted it in the same direction. He endeavoured to lessen the immunities possessed by the clergy, in regard to taxation, and also in regard to their exemption from lay jurisdiction. He opposed the privilege of sanctuary; he sought to deprive churches of their right of asylum. He even attacked the Inquisition, and worked so powerfully on the mind of the king, that Philip, at one time, determined to suspend that dreadful tribunal, and abolish the office of grand inquisitor.[207] This intention was very properly abandoned; for there can be no doubt that if it had been enforced, it would have caused a revolution, in which Philip would probably have lost his crown.[208] In such case, a reaction would have set in, which

inspiré de l'éloignement pour les autres." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iii. p. 81.

[205] In 1701, "Les églises d'Espagne ont des richesses immenses en or et en argenterie, qui augmentent tous les jours par le crédit des religieux; et cela rend l'espèce très rare dans le commerce. On propose d'obliger le clergé à vendre une partie de cette argenterie. Avant que de prendre ce parti, il en faudroit bien examiner non-seulement l'utilité, que l'on connoit, mais aussi les inconvéniens qu'un pareil ordre pourroit produire." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 60.

[206] "Il insistoit sur la nécessité de ne pas donner à un ecclésiastique, ni à une créature du cardinal, la présidence de Castille, quand on rempliroit cette importante place; les prêtres et les moines n'avoient déjà que trop de pouvoir." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 77. Compare pp. 71, 72; a letter from Louville to Torcy, dated August 5th, 1701.

[207] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 163-165. *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iii. p. 143.

[208] In 1714 it was thought necessary that Philip V., not having had the benefit of a Spanish education, should be enlightened on the subject of the Inquisition. He was, therefore, informed, "que la pureza de la religion Catolica en estos reynos se debia á la vigilancia de la Inquisicion y sus ministros, todos justos, clementes y circunspectos, no rigidos, violentos ni crueles, como por error ó malicia los pintan comunmente los Franceses. Y que *la conservacion de la Monarquia dependia en gran parte de mantener ilibata la religion Catolica.*" *Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 286. Bacallar (*Comentarios*, vol. ii. pp. 122-125) gives an interesting account of the attacks made on the rights of the Church, and which, he says, p. 122, were "poco

would have left the Church stronger than ever. Many things, however, were done for Spain in spite of the Spaniards.[209] In 1707, the clergy were forced to contribute to the state a small part of their enormous wealth; the tax being disguised under the name of a loan.[210] Ten years later, during the administration of Alberoni, this disguise was thrown off; and not only did government exact what was now called "the ecclesiastical tax," but it imprisoned or exiled those priests who, refusing to pay, stood up for the privileges of their order.[211] This was a bold step to be taken in Spain, and it was one on which, at that time, no Spaniard would have ventured. Alberoni, however, as a foreigner, was unversed in the traditions of the country, which, indeed, on another memorable occasion, he set at defiance. The government of Madrid, acting in complete unison with public opinion, had always been unwilling to negotiate with infidels; meaning by infidels, every people whose religious notions differed from their own. Sometimes, such negotiations were unavoidable, but they were entered into with fear and trembling, lest the pure Spanish faith should be tainted by too close a contact with unbelievers. Even in 1698, when it was evident that the monarchy was at its last gasp, and that nothing could save it from the hands of the spoiler, the prejudice was so strong, that the Spaniards refused to receive aid from the Dutch, because the Dutch were heretics. At that time, Holland was in the most intimate relation with England, whose interest it was to secure the independence of Spain against the

ajustados á la doctrina de los Santos Padres, á la Inmunidad de la Iglesia, y que sonaban á heregía." He significantly adds, p. 125, "Los pueblos de España, que son tan religiosos, y professan la mayor veneracion á la Iglesia, creían, que esta se atropellaba, *y huvo alguna interna inquietud, no sin fomento de los adversos al Rey, cuyo puro, y sincero corazon podia ser engañado;* pero no inducido á un evidente error contra los Sagrados Canones," &c. Such passages, proceeding, in the eighteenth century, from a man like the Marquis de San Phelipe, are of no slight importance in the history of the Spanish mind.

[209] So early as May 1702, Philip V., in a letter to Louis XIV., complained that the Spaniards opposed him in every thing. "Je crois être obligé de vous dire que je m'aperçois de plus en plus du peu de zèle que les Espagnols ont pour mon service, dans les petites choses comme dans les grandes, et qu'ils s'opposent à tout ce que je désire." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 136. The dislike which the Spaniards felt for the liberal reforms advocated by the French, went on increasing, until, in 1709, "se renovaron los antiguos odios entre las dos naciones, con tanto ardor, que deseaban las tropas Españolas el haber de combatir con los Franceses." *Bacallar, Comentarios*, vol. i. p. 360.

[210] "L'opulence de l'Eglise devoit évidemment fournir des secours à la patrie. Un emprunt de quatre millions, fait sur le clergé l'année précédente 1707, avoit cependant fort déplu au Pape ou à ses ministres." *Millot, Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. ii. p. 412.

[211] "He" (Alberoni) "continued also the exaction of the ecclesiastical tax, in spite of the papal prohibitions, imprisoning or banishing the refractory priests who defended the privileges of their order." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. ii. p. 288.

machinations of France. Obvious, however, as this was, the Spanish theologians, being consulted respecting the proposal, declared that it was inadmissible, since it would enable the Dutch to propagate their religious opinions ; so that, according to this view, it was better to be subjugated by a Catholic enemy, than to be assisted by a Protestant friend.[212]

Still, much as the Spaniards hated Protestants, they hated Mohammedans yet more.[213] They could never forget how the followers of that creed had once conquered nearly the whole of Spain, and had, during several centuries, possessed the fairest portion of it. The remembrance of this strengthened their religious animosity, and caused them to be the chief supporters of nearly every war which was waged against the Mohammedans, both of Turkey and of Africa.[214] But Alberoni, being a foreigner, was unmoved by these considerations, and, to the astonishment of all Spain, he, on the mere ground of political expediency, set at naught the principles of the Church, and not only concluded an alliance with the Mohammedans, but supplied them with arms and with money.[215] It is, indeed,

[212] On January 2d, 1698, Stanhope, the British Minister at Madrid, writes from that Capital: "This Court is not at all inclined to admit the offer of the Dutch troops to garrison their places in Flanders. They have consulted their theologians, who declare against it as a matter of conscience, since it would give great opportunities to the spreading of heresy. They have not yet sent their answer; but it is believed it will be in the negative, and that they will rather choose to lie at the mercy of the French, as being Catholics." *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, pp. 98, 99.

[213] "Entre el catolicismo y las diferentes sectas que brotaron en las imaginaciones de Calvino y de Lutero podia mediar tolerancia, y aun transaccion, si bien, como dice un escritor político, cuando se comienza á transigir sobre un principio, ese principio comienza á perder su imperio sobre las sociedades humanas. Pero entre el cristianismo de los españoles y el mahometismo de los moriscos era imposible todo avenimiento." *Janer, Condicion Social de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1857, p. 112.

[214] The Marquis of San Phelipe, who wrote in 1725, says, "Es ley fundamental de los Reyes Catholicos, nunca hacer la paz con los Mahometanos; y esta guerra permanece desde el Rey Don Pelayo, por mas de siete siglos, sin hacer jamás paces, ni treguas con ellos, como cada dia las hacen el Emperador, y otros Principes Catholicos." *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. ii. p. 169. And, in the most influential work on commerce which the reign of Philip V. produced, I find the following instructive passage: "Aunque en los Puertos de las dilatadas Costas, que de Europa, Asia y Africa baña el Mediterraneo, se hace comercio muy considerable, y util por diversas naciones, no podrá España tener gran parte en él, mientras se observare la maxima de hacer continua guerra á todos los Moros y Turcos, en cuyo dominio se hallan la mayor parte de aquellas Provincias; sin embargo de ser constante, que *en esta guerra, aunque procedida de zelo Christiano, es mayor el daño que recibimos, que el que ocasionamos á los Infieles*" (the way the mercantile spirit peeps out here, is extremely curious) "á lo menos de muchos años á esta parte, como lo he explicado en diversos capitulos." *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, Madrid, 1757, p. 399. This is the third edition of a book, which, considering the circumstances under which it was written, is a very remarkable production.

[215] Compare *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, London, 1815, vol. ii. p. 314, with *The History of Alberoni*, London, 1719, pp. 119, 253; and *Bacallar, Comentarios de la Guerra de España*, vol. ii. pp. 168, 169. The outcry which this caused, may

true that, in these and similar measures, Alberoni opposed himself to the national will, and that he lived to repent of his boldness. It is, however, also true, that his policy was part of a great secular and anti-theological movement, which, during the eighteenth century, was felt all over Europe. The effects of that movement were seen in the government of Spain, but not in the people. This was because the government for many years was wielded by foreigners, or by natives imbued with a foreign spirit. Hence we find that, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, the politicians of Spain formed a class more isolated, and, if I may so say, more living on their own intellectual resources, than the politicians of any other country during the same period. That this indicated a state of disease, and that no political improvement can produce real good, unless it is desired by the people before being conferred on them, will be admitted by whoever has mastered the lessons which history contains. The results actually produced in Spain, we shall presently see. But it will first be advisable that I should give some further evidence of the extent to which the influence of the Church had prostrated the national intellect, and by discouraging all inquiry, and fettering all freedom of thought, had at length reduced the country to such a plight, that the faculties of men, rusted by disuse, were no longer equal to fulfil the functions required from them; so that in every department, whether of political life, or of speculative philosophy, or even of mechanical industry, it was necessary that foreigners should be called in, to do that work, which the natives had become unable to perform.

The ignorance in which the force of adverse circumstances had sunk the Spaniards, and their inactivity, both bodily and mental, would be utterly incredible, if it were not attested by every variety of evidence. Gramont, writing from personal knowledge of the state of Spain, during the latter half of the seventeenth century, describes the upper classes as not only unacquainted with science or literature, but as knowing scarcely any thing even of the commonest events which occurred out of their own country. The lower ranks, he adds, are equally idle, and rely upon foreigners to reap their wheat, to cut their

be easily imagined; and Alberoni, finding himself in great peril, took advantage of the secrecy of the negotiations, to deny part, at least, of the charges made against him. See his indignant, but yet cautious, letter to the Pope, in *History of Alberoni*, 1719, p. 124. Ortiz, who had evidently not looked into the evidence, is so ill-informed as to suppose that this was a calumnious accusation brought against Alberoni after his fall. "Caido ya por entonces Alberoni de su grandeza, expelido ignominiosamente de España, y aun perseguido por el Rey en Italia, preso en Roma por orden del Papa, etc. no era dificil atribuirle culpas agenas ó no cometidas." *Note in Ortiz, Compendio*, vol. vii. p. 321.

hay, and to build their houses.[216] Another observer of society, as it existed in Madrid in 1679, assures us that men, even of the highest position, never thought it necessary that their sons should study; and that those who were destined for the army could not learn mathematics, if they desired to do so, inasmuch as there were neither schools nor masters to teach them.[217] Books, unless they were books of devotion, were deemed utterly useless; no one consulted them; no one collected them; and, until the eighteenth century, Madrid did not possess a single public library.[218] In other cities professedly devoted to purposes of education, similar ignorance prevailed. Salamanca was the seat of the most ancient and most famous university in Spain, and there, if any where, we might look for the encouragement of science.[219] But De Torres, who was himself a Spaniard, and

[216] "Leur paresse, et l'ignorance non seulement des sciences et des arts, mais quasi généralement de tout ce qui se passe hors de l'Espagne, et on peut dire même hors du lieu où ils habitent, vont presque de pair, et sont inconcevables. La pauvreté est grande parmi eux, ce qui provient de leur extrême paresse; car si nombre de nos Français n'alloient faucher leurs foins, couper leurs blés et faire leurs briques, je crois qu'ils courroient fortune de se laisser mourir de faim, et de se tenir sous des tentes pour ne se pas donner la peine de bâtir des maisons." . . . . "L'éducation de leurs enfans est semblable à celle qu'ils ont eu de leurs pères, c'est-à-dire sans qu'ils apprennent ni sciences ni exercices; et je ne crois pas que parmi tous les grands que j'ay pratiqués, il s'en trouvât un seul qui sût décliner son nom." . . . . "Ils n'ont nulle curiosité de voir les pays étrangers, et encore moins de s'enquérir de ce qui s'y passe." *Mémoires du Maréchal de Gramont*, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78, 82, 83, in *Collection des Mémoires par Petitot et Monmerqué*, vol. lvii. See also *Aarsens de Sommerdyck*, *Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1665, 4to, p. 124. "La terre mesme n'y est pas toute cultiuée par des gens du pays: au temps du labourage, des semailles et de la recolte, il leur vient quantité de paysans du Bearn et d'autres endroits de France, qui gagnent beaucoup d'argent, pour leur mettre leurs bleds en terre et pour les recueillir. Les architectes et charpentiers y sont aussi pour la plûpart estrangers, qui se font payer au triple de ce qu'ils gagneroient en leur pays. Dans Madrid on ne voit pas un porteur d'eau qui ne soit estranger, et la plûpart des cordonniers et tailleurs le sont aussi."

[217] "Mais aussi de quelle manière les éleve-t-on? Ils n'étudient point; on néglige de leur donner d'habiles precepteurs; dès qu'on les destine à l'épée, on ne se soucie plus qu'ils apprennent le latin ni l'histoire. On devroit au moins leur enseigner ce qui est de leur mestier, les mathematiques, à faire des armes et à monter à cheval. Ils n'y pensent seulement pas. Il n'y a point ici d'Academie ni de maîtres qui montrent ces sortes de choses. Les jeunes hommes passent le tems qu'ils devroient emploïer à s'instruire dans un oisiveté pitoïable." Letter from Madrid, dated 27th June 1679, in *D'Aulnoy*, *Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. pp. 232, 233.

[218] "Madrid étant la capitale d'une monarchie aussi vaste, il n'y eut dans cette ville jusqu' à l'époque du règne de Philippe V. aucune bibliothèque publique." *Sempere*, *De la Monarchie Espagnole*, Paris, 1826, vol. ii. p. 79.

[219] The university was transferred from Palencia to Salamanca, early in the thirteenth century. *Forner*, *Oracion Apologética por la España*, Madrid, 1786, p. 170. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, it had become very prosperous (*Sempere*, *De la Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. i. p. 65); and in 1535, it is described as "a great Universitie, conteyning seven or eight thowsand students." See a letter from John Mason, dated Valladolid, 3d July 1535, in *Ellis' Original Letters*, second series, vol. ii. p. 56, London, 1827. But, like every thing else which was valuable in Spain, it declined in the seventeenth century; and Monconys, who carefully ex-

was educated at Salamanca, early in the eighteenth century, declares that he had studied at that university for five years before he had heard that such things as the mathematical sciences existed.[220] So late as the year 1771, the same university publicly refused to allow the discoveries of Newton to be taught; and assigned as a reason, that the system of Newton was not so consonant with revealed religion as the system of Aristotle.[221] All over Spain, a similar plan was adopted. Every where, knowledge was spurned, and inquiry discouraged. Feijoo, who, notwithstanding his superstition, and a certain slavishness of mind, from which no Spaniard of that age could escape, did, on matters of science, seek to enlighten his countrymen, has left upon record his deliberate opinion, that whoever had acquired all that was taught in his time under the name of philosophy, would, as the reward of his labour, be more ignorant than he was before he began.[222] And there can be

amined it in 1628, and praises some of its arrangements which were still in force, adds, "Mais je suis aussi contraint de dire après tant de loüanges, que les ecoliers qui étudient dans cette université sont des vrais ignorans." *Les Voyages de Monsieur de Monconys*, Quatrième Partie, vol. v. p. 22, Paris, 1695. However, their ignorance, of which Monconys gives some curious instances, did not prevent Spanish writers, then, and long afterwards, from deeming the University of Salamanca to be the greatest institution of its kind in the world. "La mayor del orbe, madre gloriosísima de todas las ciencias y de los mas vehementes ingenios, que han ilustrado las edades." *Vida de Calderon de la Barca*, pp. iii. iv., reprinted in Keil's edition of *Calderon*, Leipsique, 1827. Compare Davila (*Felipe Tercero*, p. 81), "Salamanca, madre de ciencias y letras;" Yañez (*Memorias*, p. 228), "Universidad insigne, y Oficina de las buenas Letras de España;" Bacallar (*Comentarios*, vol. i. p. 238), "El emporio de las ciencias;" and Ximenez (*Vida de Ribera*, p. 6), "Salamanca, cathedra universal de las artes, y emporio de todas ciencias."

[220] "Says, that, after he had been five years in one of the schools of the university there, it was by accident he learned the existence of the mathematical sciences." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 223. A celebrated Spanish writer of the eighteenth century actually boasts of the ignorance of his countrymen concerning mathematics, and discerns, in their neglect of that foolish pursuit, a decisive proof of their superiority over other nations. "No se dexe deslumbrar con los ásperos calculos ó intrincadas demostraciones geométricas, con que, astuto el entendimiento, disimula el engaño con los disfraces de la verdad. El uso de las matemáticas es la alquimia en la fisica, que da apariencias de oro á lo que no lo es." *Forner*, *Oracion Apologética por la España y su Mérito Literario*, Madrid, 1786, p. 38. Compare his contemptuous notice (p. 66) of those insignificant persons, who "con título de filósofos han dado algun aumento á las matemáticas;" and his comparison (p. 222) of Mercado with Newton.

[221] "L'université de Salamanque, excitée par le Conseil, à réformer ses études, en l'année 1771, lui répondit 'qu'elle ne pouvait se séparer du péripatétisme, parce que les systèmes de Newton, Gassendi et Descartes, ne concordent pas autant avec les vérités révélées que ceux d'Aristote.'" *Sempere*, *Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 152. This reply, says M. Sempere, p. 153, may be found "dans la collection des ordonnances royales." In *Letters from Spain by an English Officer*, London, 1788, vol. ii. p. 256, it is stated, that, in all the Spanish universities, "Newton, and modern philosophy, is still prohibited. Nothing can supplant Aristotle, and the superstitious fathers and doctors of the church."

[222] Or, as he, in one place, expresses himself, would know "very little more than nothing." "El que estudió Logica, y Metaphysica, con lo demás que, debaxo del nombre de Philosofia, se enseña en las Escuelas, por bien que sepa todo, sabe muy

no doubt that he was right. There can be no doubt that, in Spain, the more a man was taught, the less he would know. For, he was taught that inquiry was sinful, that intellect must be repressed, and that credulity and submission were the first of human attributes. The Duke de Saint Simon, who, in 1721 and 1722, was the French ambassador at Madrid, sums up his observations by the remark, that, in Spain, science is a crime, and ignorance a virtue.[223] Fifty years later, another shrewd observer, struck with amazement at the condition of the national mind, expresses his opinion in a sentence equally pithy and almost equally severe. Searching for an illustration to convey his sense of the general darkness, he emphatically says, that the common education of an English gentleman would, in Spain, constitute a man of learning.[224]

Those who know what the common education of an English gentleman was eighty years ago, will appreciate the force of this comparison, and will understand how benighted a country must have been, to which such a taunt was applicable. To expect that, under such a state of things, the Spaniards should make any of the discoveries which accelerate the march of nations, would be idle indeed; for they would not even receive the discoveries, which other nations had made for them, and had cast into the common lap. So loyal and orthodox a people had nothing to do with novelties, which, being innovations on ancient opinions, were fraught with danger. The Spaniards desired to walk in the ways of their ancestors, and not have their faith in the past rudely disturbed. In the inorganic world, the magnificent discoveries of Newton were contumeliously rejected; and, in the organic world, the circulation of the blood was denied, more than a hundred and fifty years after Harvey had proved it.[225] These things were new, and it was better

poco mas que nada; pero suena mucho. Dicese, que es un gran Philosofo; y no es Philosofo grande, ni chico." *Feijoo, Theatro Critico Universal*, vol. ii. p. 187, quinta impression, Madrid, 1741.

[223] "La science est un crime, l'ignorance et la stupidité la première vertu." *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. xxxv. p. 209, Paris, 1840. Elsewhere (vol. xxxvi. p. 252) he says, "Les jésuites savants partout et en tout genre de science, ce qui ne leur est pas même disputé par leurs ennemis, les jésuites, dis-je, sont ignorants en Espagne, mais d'une ignorance à surprendre."

[224] "The common education of an English gentleman would constitute a man of learning here; and, should he understand Greek, he would be quite a phenomenon." *Swinburne's Travels through Spain in* 1775 *and* 1776, vol. ii. p. 212, 213, 2d edit., London, 1787.

[225] So late as 1787, Townsend, a very accomplished man, who travelled through Spain with the express object of noting the state of knowledge, as well as the economical condition of the country, and who, by previous study, had well qualified himself for such an undertaking, says, "I have observed in general, that the physicians with whom I have had occasion to converse, are disciples of their favourite doctor Piquer, who denied, or at least doubted of, the circulation of the blood."

to pause a little, and not receive them too hastily. On the same principle, when, in the year 1760, some bold men in the government proposed that the streets of Madrid should be cleansed, so daring a suggestion excited general anger. Not only the vulgar, but even those who were called educated, were loud in their censure. The medical profession, as the guardians of the public health, were desired, by the government, to give their opinion. This, they had no difficulty in doing. They had no doubt that the dirt ought to remain. To remove it, was a new experiment; and of new experiments, it was impossible to foresee the issue. Their fathers having lived in the midst of it, why should not they do the same? Their fathers were wise men, and must have had good reasons for their conduct. Even the smell, of which some persons complained, was most likely wholesome. For, the air being sharp and piercing, it was extremely probable that bad smells made the atmosphere heavy, and in that way deprived it of some of its injurious properties. The physicians of Madrid were, therefore, of opinion that matters had better remain as their ancestors had left them, and that no attempts should be made to purify the capital by removing the filth which lay scattered on every side.[226]

Townsend's Journey through Spain, 2d ed., London, 1792, vol. iii. p. 281. At that time, the Spanish physicians were, however, beginning to read Hoffmann, Cullen, and other heretical speculators, in whose works they would find, to their astonishment, that the circulation of the blood was assumed, and was not even treated as a debatable question. But the students were obliged to take such matters on trust; for, adds Townsend, p. 282, "In their medical classes, they had no dissections." Compare *Laborde's Spain*, vol. i. p. 76, vol. iii. p. 315, London, 1809, and *Godoy's Memoirs*, London, 1836, vol. ii. p. 157. Godoy, speaking of the three colleges of surgery at Madrid, Barcelona, and Cadiz, says that until his administration in 1793, "In the capital, even that of San Carlos had not a lecture-room for practical instruction."

[226] This little episode is noticed by Cabarrus, in his *Elogio de Carlos III.* Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. xiv. "La salubridad del ayre, la limpieza y seguridad de las calles." . . . . "Pero ¿ quién creerá que este noble empeño produxo las mas vivas quejas: que se conmovió el vulgo de todas clases; y que tuvo varias autoridades á su favor la extraña doctrina de que los vapores mefíticos eran un correctivo saludable de la rigidez del clima?" But the fullest details will be found in the recently published and very elaborate History of Charles III. by M. Rio, from which I will give one or two extracts. "Para la limpieza de las calles poseia mayores ó menores fondos el ayuntamiento, y cuando el Rey quiso poner la mano en este ramo de policía, le presentaron dictámenes de médicos en que se defendia el absurdo de ser elemento de salubridad la basura." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. iv. p. 54. See also vol. i. pp. 267, 268, where it is mentioned, that when the minister, Esquilache, persevered in his attempts to have the streets of Madrid cleaned, the opponents of the scheme made inquiries into the opinions of their fathers on the subject; and the result was, "que le presentaron cierta originalísima consulta hecha por los médicos bajo el reinado de uno de los Felipes de Austria, y reducida á demostrar que, siendo sumamente sutil el aire de la poblacion á causa de estar próxima la sierra de Guadarrama, ocasionaria los mayores estragos si no se impregnara en los vapores de las inmundicias desparramadas por las calles." That this idea had long been entertained by the physicians of Madrid, we also know from another testimony, with which none of the Spanish historians are acquainted. Sir Richard Wynne, who visited that capital in 1623, describes a

While such notions prevailed respecting the preservation of health,[227] it is hardly to be supposed that the treatment of disease should be very successful. To bleed and to purge, were the only remedies prescribed by the Spanish physicians.[228] Their ignorance of the commonest functions of the human body was altogether surprising, and can only be explained on the supposition, that in medicine, as in other departments, the Spaniards of the eighteenth century knew no more than their progenitors of the sixteenth. Indeed, in some respects, they appeared to know less. For, their treatment was so violent that it was almost certain death to submit to it for any length of time.[229] Their own king, Philip V., did not dare to trust himself in their hands, but preferred having an Irishman for his physician.[230] Though the Irish had no great medical reputation, any thing was better than a Spanish doctor.[231] The arts

disgusting practice of the inhabitants, and adds, "Being desirous to know why so beastly a custom is suffered, they say it's a thing prescribed by their physicians; for they hold the air to be so piercing and subtle, that this kind of corrupting it with these ill vapours keeps it in good temper." *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1845, vol. ii. p. 446.

[227] Even thirty years later, it was said, with good reason, that "es menester *deshacer todo lo que se ha hecho*," and "confiar exclusivamente el precioso depósito de la sanidad pública á las manos capaces de conservarlo y mejorarlo." *Martas por el Conde de Cabarrus*, Madrid, 1813, p. 280. These letters, which, though little known, contain some interesting statements, were written in 1792 and 1793. See p. 34, and Prologo, p. i.

[228] Bleeding, however, had the preference. See the curious evidence in *Townsend's Journey through Spain in* 1786 *and* 1787, vol. ii. pp. 37-39. Townsend, who had some knowledge of medicine, was amazed at the ignorance and recklessness of the Spanish physicians. He says, "The science and practice of medicine are at the lowest ebb in Spain, but more especially in the Asturias." Compare *Sprengel, Histoire de la Médecine*, vol. iii. p. 217, Paris, 1815, with *Winwood's Memorials*, London, 1725, folio, vol. ii. p. 219. The last reference shows the terrible "purging and letting blood," to which the unfortunate Spaniards were exposed in the reign of Philip III. Another observer, much later, states that "La saignée leur est assez familière. Ils se la font faire hors du lit tant que leurs forces le permettent, et *lorsqu'ils en usent par précaution, ils se font tirer du sang deux jours de suite du bras droit et du gauche, disant qu'il faut égaliser le sang.* On peut juger de là, si la circulation leur est connue." *Voyages faits en Espagne, par Monsieur M*****, Amsterdam, 1700, p. 112. See further *Clarke's Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, London, 4to, 1763, p. 55, and *Spain by an American*, London, 1831, vol. ii. p. 321.

[229] In 1780, poor Cumberland, when in Madrid, was as nearly as possible murdered by three of their surgeons in a very few days; the most dangerous of his assailants being no less a man than the "chief surgeon of the Guardes de Corps," who, says the unfortunate sufferer, was "sent to me by authority." See *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland, written by himself*, London, 1807, vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.

[230] Duclos says of Philip V., "Il étoit fort attentif sur sa santé; son médecin, s'il eût été intriguant, auroit pu jouer un grand rôle. Lyghins Irlandois, qui occupoit cette première place, fort eloigné de l'intrigue et de la cupidité, instruit dans son art, s'en occupoit uniquement. Après sa mort, la reine fit donner la place à Servi, son médecin particulier." *Mémoires par Duclos*, 2e édit. Paris, 1791, vol. ii. pp. 200, 201. "Hyghens, premier médecin, était Irlandais." *Mémoires du Duc de Saint Simon*, vol. xxxvi. p. 215, ed. Paris, 1841.

[231] In the eighteenth century, the Spaniards, generally, began to admit this; since they could not shut their eyes to the fact that their friends and relations suc-

incidental to medicine and surgery, were equally backward. The instruments were rudely made, and the drugs badly prepared. Pharmacy being unknown, the apothecaries' shops, in the largest towns, were entirely supplied from abroad; while, in the smaller towns, and in districts remote from the capital, the medicines were of such a quality, that the best which could be hoped of them was, that they might be innocuous. For, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Spain did not possess one practical chemist. Indeed, we are assured by Campomanes himself, that, so late as the year 1776, there was not to be found in the whole country a single man who knew how to make the commonest drugs, such as magnesia, Glauber's salts, and the ordinary preparations of mercury and antimony. This eminent statesman adds, however, that a chemical laboratory was about to be established in Madrid; and although the enterprise, being without a precedent, would surely be regarded as a portentous novelty, he expresses a confident expectation, that, by its aid, the universal ignorance of his countrymen would in time be remedied.[232]

Whatever was useful in practice, or whatever subserved the purposes of knowledge, had to come from abroad. Ensenada, the well-known minister of Ferdinand VI., was appalled by the darkness and apathy of the nation, which he tried, but tried in vain, to remove. When he was at the head of affairs, in the middle of the eighteenth century, he publicly de-

cumbed so rapidly under professional treatment, that sickness and death were almost synonymous. Hence, notwithstanding their hatred of the French nation, they availed themselves of the services of French physicians and French surgeons, whenever they had an opportunity of doing so. In 1707, the Princess des Ursins writes from Madrid to Madame de Maintenon, "Les chirurgiens espagnols sont mésestimés même de ceux de leur nation;" and, in another letter, "Les Espagnols conviennent que les médecins français sont beaucoup plus savants que les leurs; ils s'en servent même très-volontiers, mais ils sont persuadés que ceux de la faculté de Montpellier l'emportent sur les autres." *Lettres inédites de Madame de Maintenon et de la Princesse des Ursins*, vol. iii. p. 412, vol. iv. p. 90.

[232] Campomanes (*Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, Madrid, 1776, vol. iii. pp. 74, 75), speaking of a work on distillation, says, "La tercera (parte) describe la preparacion de los productos químicos sólidos: esto es la preparacion de varias sustancias terreas, como argamasa, magnesia blanca, ojos de cangrejo etc., la de varios sales, como sal de glaubero, amoniaco, cristal mineral, borax refinado etc., y la del antimonio, mercurio, plomo, litargirio etc., comunicando sobre todo lo expresado varias noticias, que demuestran lo mucho que conducen á los progresos del arte, las observaciones del fisico reflexîvo: unidas á la práctica de un profesor experimentado. *Este arte en toda su extension falta en España.* Solo le tenemos para aguardientes, rosolis, y mistelas. *La salud pública es demasiado importante, para depender de los estraños en cosas esenciales;* quando no estimulase nuestra industria la manutencion de muchas familias." . . . . "Gran parte de estas cosas se introducen de fuera, por no conocerse bien las operaciones químicas. No son dificultosas en la execucion; pero *es necesario enseñarlas, y conocer los instrumentos que son aproposito.* Un laboratorio químico, que *se va á establecer en Madrid,* producirá maestros para las capitales del reyno."

clared that in Spain there was no professorship of public law, or of physics, or of anatomy, or of botany. He further added, that there were no good maps of Spain, and that there was no person who knew how to construct them. All the maps which they had, came from France and Holland. They were, he said, very inaccurate; but the Spaniards, being unable to make any, had nothing else to rely on. Such a state of things he pronounced to be shameful. For, as he bitterly complained, if it were not for the exertions of Frenchmen and Dutchmen, it would be impossible for any Spaniard to know either the position of his own town, or the distance from one place to another.[233]

The only remedy for all this, seemed to be foreign aid; and Spain being now ruled by a foreign dynasty, that aid was called in. Cervi established the Medical Societies of Madrid and of Seville; Virgili founded the College of Surgery at Cadiz; and Bowles endeavoured to promote among the Spaniards the study of mineralogy.[234] Professors were sought for, far and wide; and application was made to Linnæus to send a person from Sweden who could impart some idea of botany to physiological students.[235] Many other and similar steps were taken by the government, whose indefatigable exertions would deserve our warmest praise, if we did not know how impossible it is for any government to enlighten a nation, and how absolutely essential

[233] "Su ministro el célebre Ensenada, que tenia grandes miras en todos los ramos de la administracion pública, deseaba ardientemente mejorar la enseñanza, lamentándose del atraso en que esta se hallaba. 'Es menester, decia hablando de las universidades, reglar sus cátedras, reformar las superfluas y establecer las que faltan con nuevas ordenanzas para asegurar el mejor método de estudios. No sé que haya cátedra alguna de derecho público, de fisica esperimental, de anatomia y botánica. No hay puntuales cartas geográficas del reino y de sus provincias, *ni quien las sepa grabar, ni tenemos otras que las imperfectas que vienen de Francia y Holanda.* De esto proviene que ignoramos la verdadera situacion de los pueblos y sus distancias, que es una vergüenza.'" *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iv. pp. 268, 269. See also *Biografía de Ensenada*, in *Navarrete, Coleccion de Opúsculos*, Madrid, 1848, vol. ii. pp. 21, 22. "Le parecia vergonzoso que para conocer la situacion y distancias respectivas de nuestros mismos pueblos y lugares, dependiésemos de los franceses y holandeses, quienes por sus mapas imperfectas de la península extraian de ella sumas considerables." Eighty years after this complaint was made by Ensenada, we find a traveller in Spain stating that "a decent map of any part, even of the country round the gates of the capital, cannot be found." *Cook's Spain from* 1829 *to* 1832, London, 1834, vol. i. p. 322. Compare *Notices of Geological Memoirs*, p. 1, at the end of the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. vi., London, 1850; "even a good geographical map of the Peninsula does not exist."

[234] M. Rio (*Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 185) mentions this in a very characteristic manner. "Varios extranjeros distinguidos *hallaron fraternidad entre los españoles, y correspondieron hidalgamente al hospedaje:* Cervi dió vida á las sociedades médicas de Madrid y Sevilla; Virgili al colegio de Cirugía de Cádiz; Quer trabajó sin descanso para que el jardin Botánico no fuera un simple lugar de recreo, sino principalmente de estudio; Bowles comunicó grande impulso á la mineralogía," &c.

[235] I have mislaid the evidence of this fact; but the reader may rely on its accuracy.

it is that the desire for improvement should, in the first place, proceed from the people themselves. No progress is real, unless it is spontaneous. The movement, to be effective, must emanate from within, and not from without; it must be due to general causes acting on the whole country, and not to the mere will of a few powerful individuals. During the eighteenth century, all the means of improvement were lavishly supplied to the Spaniards; but the Spaniards did not want to improve. They were satisfied with themselves; they were sure of the accuracy of their own opinions; they were proud of the notions which they inherited, and which they did not wish either to increase or to diminish. Being unable to doubt, they were, therefore, unwilling to inquire. New and beautiful truths, conveyed in the clearest and most attractive language, could produce no effect upon men, whose minds were thus hardened and enslaved.[236] An unhappy combination of events, working without interruption since the fifth century, had predetermined the national character in a particular direction, and neither statesmen, nor kings, nor legislators, could effect aught against it. The seventeenth century was, however, the climax of all. In that age, the Spanish nation fell into a sleep, from which, as a nation, it has never since awakened. It was a sleep, not of repose, but of death. It was a sleep, in which the faculties, instead of being rested, were paralyzed, and in which a cold and universal torpor succeeded that glorious, though partial, activity, which, while it made the name of Spain terrible in the world, had insured the respect even of her bitterest enemies.

Even the fine arts, in which the Spaniards had formerly excelled, partook of the general degeneracy, and, according to the confession of their own writers, had, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, fallen into complete decay.[237] The arts which secure national safety, were in the same predicament as those which minister to national pleasure. There was no one in Spain who could build a ship; there was no one who knew

[236] Townsend (*Journey through Spain in* 1786 *and* 1787, vol. ii. p. 275) says, "Don Antonio Solano, professor of experimental philosophy, merits attention for the clearness and precision of his demonstrations; but, unfortunately, although his lectures are delivered gratis, such is the want of taste for science in Marid, that nobody attends them."

[237] "La ignorancia reinante en los últimos años del siglo xvii. depravó en tal manera el buen gusto, que á principios del xviii. las artes se hallaban en la mas lastimosa decadencia." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iv. p. 346. See also, on this decline, or rather destruction, of taste, *Velazquez, Origenes de la Poesia Castellana*, Malaga, 1754, 4to. "Un siglo corrompido, en que las letras estaban abandonadas, y el buen gusto casi desterrado de toda la nacion." p. 70. "Al passo que la nacion perdia el buen gusto, y las letras iban caminando á su total decadencia." p. 107. "Los caminos por donde nuestros poetas en el siglo passado se apartaron del buen gusto en esta parte." p. 170.

how to rig it, after it was built. The consequence was, that, by the close of the seventeenth century, the few ships which Spain possessed, were so rotten, that, says an historian, they could hardly support the fire of their own guns.[238] In 1752, the government, being determined to restore the navy, found it necessary to send to England for shipwrights; and they were also obliged to apply to the same quarter for persons who could make ropes and canvass; the skill of the natives being unequal to such arduous achievements.[239] In this way, the ministers of the Crown, whose ability and vigour, considering the difficult circumstances in which the incapacity of the people placed them, were extremely remarkable, contrived to raise a fleet superior to any which had been seen in Spain for more than a century.[240] They also took many other steps towards putting the national defences into a satisfactory condition; though, in every instance, they were forced to rely on the aid of foreigners. Both the military and the naval service were in utter confusion, and had to be organized afresh. The discipline of the infantry was re-modelled by O'Reilly, an Irishman, to whose superintendence the military schools of Spain were intrusted.[241] At Cadiz, a great naval academy was formed, but the head of it was Colonel Godin, a French officer.[242] The artillery, which, like every thing else, had become almost useless, was improved by Maritz, the Frenchman; while the same service was rendered to the arsenals by Gazola, the Italian.[243]

[238] "Solo cuatro navíos de línea y seis de poco porte dejaron los reyes de orígen austriaco, y todos tan podridos que apenas podian aguantar el fuego de sus propias baterías." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. i. p. 184.

[239] "Se mandaron construir 12 navíos á la vez, y se contrataron otros. Por medio de D. Jorge Juan se trajeron de Inglaterra los mas hábiles constructores y maestros para las fábricas de jarcia, lona y otras." *Biografía de Ensenada*, in *Navarrete, Coleccion de Opúsculos*, Madrid, 1848, vol. ii. p. 18. M. Rio, taking all this as a matter of course, quietly says, "D. Jorge Juan fue á Lóndres para estudiar la construccion de navios." *Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. iv. p. 485.

[240] M. Lafuente says that Ensenada was the restorer, and almost the creator, of the Spanish navy; "de la cual fué el restaurador, y casi pudiera decirse el creador." *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xix. p. 344, Madrid, 1857.

[241] "C'est par un Irlandais aussi, Oreilly, que la discipline de l'infanterie est réformée." *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, Paris, 1808, vol. ii. p. 142. "Las escuelas militares del puerto de Sta. Maria para la infanteria, que dirigió con tanto acierto el general Ofarril bajo las ordenes del conde de O'Reilly." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 128.

[242] "Vino á dirigir la academia de guardias marinas de Cadiz." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 79. "Godin figuró como director del colegio de Guardias marinas." *Rio, Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 186. Compare *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xvii. p. 564, Paris, 1816.

[243] See the interesting remarks in *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, Paris, 1808, vol. ii. pp. 96, 142. With good reason, therefore, was it stated, some years afterwards, that "c'est à des étrangers que l'Espagne doit presque tous les plans, les réformes utiles, et les connoissances dont elle a eu besoin." *Voyage en Espagne par le Marquis de Langle*, 1785, vol. ii. p. 159.

The mines, which form one of the greatest natural sources of the wealth of Spain, had likewise suffered from that ignorance and apathy, into which the force of circumstances had plunged the country. They were either completely neglected, or if worked, they were worked by other nations. The celebrated cobalt-mine, situated in the valley of Gistau in Aragon, was entirely in the hands of the Germans, who, during the first half of the eighteenth century, derived immense profit from it.[244] In the same way, the silver-mines of Guadalcanal, the richest in Spain, were undertaken, not by natives, but by foreigners. Though they had been discovered in the sixteenth century, they, as well as other matters of importance, had been forgotten in the seventeenth, and were re-opened, in 1728, by English adventurers; the enterprise, the tools, the capital, and even the miners, all coming from England.[245] Another, and still more famous, mine is that of Almaden in La Mancha, which produces mercury of the finest quality, and in great profusion. This metal, besides being indispensable for many of the commonest arts, was of peculiar value to Spain, because without it, the gold and silver of the New World could not be extracted from their ores. From Almaden, where every natural facility exists for collecting it, and where the cinnabar in which it is found is unusually rich, vast supplies had formerly been drawn; but they had for some time been diminishing, although the demand, especially from foreign countries, was on the increase. Under these circumstances, the Spanish government, fearing that so important a source of wealth might altogether perish, determined to institute an inquiry into the manner in which the mine was worked. As, however, no Spaniard possessed the knowledge requisite for such an investigation, the advisers of the Crown were obliged to call on foreigners to help them. In 1752, an Irish naturalist, named Bowles, was commissioned to visit Almaden, and ascertain the cause of the failure. He found that the miners had acquired a habit of sinking their shafts perpendicularly, instead of following the direction of the vein.[246]

[244] "Como los del pais entendian poco de trabajar minas, vinieron de Alemania algunos prácticos para enseñarlos." . . . . "Los Alemanes sacaron de dicha mina por largo tiempo cosa de 500 á 600 quintales de cobalto al año." *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, pp. 418, 419. See also *Dillon's Spain*, Dublin, 1781, pp. 227-229.

[245] "In 1728, a new adventurer undertook the work of opening the mines of Guadalcanal. This was Lady Mary Herbert, daughter of the Marquis of Powis." . . . . "Lady Mary departed from Madrid for Guadalcanal, to which miners and engines had been sent from England at her expense, and at that of her relation, Mr. Gage, who accompanied her, and of her father, the marquis." *Jacob's Historical Inquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals*, London, 1831, vol. i. pp. 278, 279.

[246] "Los mineros de Almaden nunca hicieron los socavones siguiendo la inclina-

So absurd a process was quite sufficient to account for their want of success; and Bowles reported to the government, that if a shaft were to be sunk obliquely, the mine would, no doubt, again be productive. The government approved of the suggestion, and ordered it to be carried into effect. But the Spanish miners were too tenacious of their old customs to give way. They sank their shafts in the same manner as their fathers had done; and what their fathers had done, must be right. The result was, that the mine had to be taken out of their hands; but as Spain could supply no other labourers, it was necessary to send to Germany for fresh ones.[247] After their arrival, matters rapidly improved. The mine, being superintended by an Irishman, and worked by Germans, assumed quite a different appearance; and, notwithstanding the disadvantages with which new comers always have to contend, the immediate consequence of the change was, that the yield of mercury was doubled, and its cost to the consumer correspondingly lowered.[248]

Such ignorance, pervading the whole nation, and extending to every department of life, is hardly conceivable, considering the immense advantages which the Spaniards had formerly enjoyed. It is particularly striking, when contrasted with the ability of the government, which, for more than eighty years, constantly laboured to improve the condition of the country. Early in the eighteenth century, Ripperda, in the hopes of stimulating Spanish industry, established a large woollen manufactory at Segovia, which had once been a busy and prosperous city. But the commonest processes had now been forgotten; and he was obliged to import manufacturers from Holland, to teach the Spaniards how to make up the wool, though that was an art for which in better days they had been especially famous.[249]

cion de las betas, sino perpendiculares, y baxaban á ellos puestos en una especie de cubos atados desde arriba con cuerdas. De este mal método se originó todo el desórden de la mina, porque al paso que los operarios penetraban dentro de tierra, era forzoso que se apartasen de las betas y las perdiesen." *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. 14.

[247] "Fue mi proyecto bien recibido del Ministerio, y *habiendo hecho venir mineros Alemanes*, le han executado en gran parte con mucha habilidad. Los mineros Españoles de Almaden son atrevidos y tienen robustez, maña y penetracion quanta es menester, de suerte que *con el tiempo serán excelentes mineros, pues no les falta otra cosa que la verdadera ciencia de las minas.*" *Historia Natural de España*, p. 16. The latter part of this sentence is an evident struggle between the interests of truth, and the exigencies of a book printed at the Royal Press of Madrid, and licensed by the Spanish authorities.

[248] "Encargado por el gobierno el laborioso extrangero Bowles de proponer los medios convenientes para beneficiar con mas acierto las famosas minas de azogue del Almaden, descubrió algunos nuevos procedimientos por medio de los cuales casi se duplicaron los productos de aquellas, y bajó una mitad el precio de los azogues." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 117.

[249] *Memoirs of Ripperda*, 2d ed., London, 1740, pp. 23, 62, 91, 104. "A ship

In 1757, Wall, who was then minister, constructed, upon a still larger scale, a similar manufactory at Guadalajara in New Castile. Soon, however, something went wrong with the machinery; and as the Spaniards neither knew nor cared any thing about these matters, it was necessary to send to England for a workman to put it right.[250] At length the advisers of Charles III., despairing of rousing the people by ordinary means, devised a more comprehensive scheme, and invited thousands of foreign artizans to settle in Spain; trusting that their example, and the suddenness of their influx, might invigorate this jaded nation.[251] All was in vain. The spirit of the country was broken, and nothing could retrieve it. Among other attempts which were made, the formation of a National Bank was a favourite idea of politicians, who expected great things from an institution which was to extend credit, and make advances to persons engaged in business. But, though the design was executed, it entirely failed in effecting its purpose. When the people are not enterprising, no effort of government can make them so. In a country like Spain, a great bank was an exotic, which might live with art, but could never thrive by nature. Indeed, both in its origin and in its completion, it was altogether foreign, having been first proposed by the Dutchman Ripperda,[252] and owing its final organization to the Frenchman Cabarrus.[253]

In every thing, the same law prevailed. In diplomacy, the ablest men were not Spaniards, but foreigners; and during the eighteenth century, the strange spectacle was frequently exhibited, of Spain being represented by French, Italian, and even

arrived at Cadiz with fifty manufacturers on board, whom the Baron de Ripperda had drawn together in Holland." . . . . "The new manufactures at Segovia, which, though at this time wholly managed by foreigners, he wished, in the next age, might be carried on by the Spaniards themselves, and by them only."

[250] "The minister, Wall, an Irishman, contrived to decoy over one Thomas Bevan, from Melksham, in Wiltshire, to set the machinery and matters to rights." *Ford's Spain*, London, 1847, p. 525.

[251] "Ademas de la invitacion que se hizo á millares de operarios extrangeros para venir á establecerse en España," &c. *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. pp. 112, 113. In 1768, Harris, who travelled from Pampeluna to Madrid, writes, "I did not observe a dozen men either at plough or any other kind of labour, on the road." *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, Earl of Malmesbury*, London, 1844, vol. i. p. 38.

[252] "A national bank, a design originally suggested by Ripperda." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 202.

[253] Bourgoing, not aware of Ripperda's priority, says (*Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, vol. ii. p. 49), "L'idée de la banque nationale fut donnée au gouvernement par un banquier français, M. Cabarrus." Compare *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 122, 123: "Banco nacional de San Cárlos; propúsolo Cabarrús, apoyólo Floridablanca, y sancionólo el Soberano por Real cedula de 2 de junio de 1782." This sounds well; but the inevitable catastrophe soon came. "Charles IV," says the Prince of the Peace, "had just ascended the throne; the bank of St. Carlos was rapidly falling, and on the verge of bankruptcy." *Godoy's Memoirs*, London, 1836, vol. i. p. 124.

Irish ambassadors.[254] Nothing was indigenous; nothing was done by Spain herself. Philip V., who reigned from 1700 to 1746, and possessed immense power, always clung to the ideas of his own country, and was a Frenchman to the last. For thirty years after his death, the three most prominent names in Spanish politics were, Wall, who was born in France, of Irish parents;[255] Grimaldi, who was a native of Genoa;[256] and Esquilache, who was a native of Sicily.[257] Esquilache administered the finances for several years; and, after enjoying the confidence of Charles III. to an extent rarely possessed by any minister, was only dismissed, in 1766, in consequence of the discontents of the people at the innovations introduced by this bold foreigner.[258] Wall, a much more remarkable man, was, in the absence of any good Spanish diplomatist, sent envoy to London in 1747; and after exercising great influence in matters of state, he was placed at the head of affairs in 1754, and remained

[254] "A Londres, à Stockholm, à Paris, à Vienne et à Venise, le souverain est représenté par des étrangers. Le prince de Masserano, Italien, ambassadeur en Angleterre; le comte de Lacy, Irlandais, ministre à Stockholm; le marquis de Grimaldi, ambassadeur en France, avant de parvenir au ministère; le comte de Mahoni, Irlandais, ambassadeur à Vienne; le marquis de Squilaci, ambassadeur à Venise, après sa retraite du ministère." *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne*, vol. ii. pp. 142, 143. To this, I may add, that, in the reign of Philip V., an Italian, the Marquis de Beretti Landi, was the representative of Spain in Switzerland, and afterwards at the Hague (*Ripperda's Memoirs*, 1740, pp. 37, 38); and that in, or just before, 1779, Lacy filled the same post at St. Petersburg. *Malmesbury's Diaries and Correspondence*, 1844, vol. i. p. 261. So, too, M. Rio (*Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. i. pp. 288, 289) says of the important negotiations which took place in 1761, between Spain, England, and France, "Y así de las negociaciones en que Luis XV. trataba de enredar á Carlos III. quedaron absolutamente excluidos los españoles, como que por una parte las iban á seguir el duque de Choiseul y el marques de Ossun, franceses, y por ortra el irlandés D. Ricardo Wall, y el genovés marques de Grimaldi." About the same time, Clarke writes (in his *Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, London, 1763, 4to, p. 331), "Spain has, for many years past, been under the direction of foreign ministers. Whether this hath been owing to want of capacity in the natives, or disinclination in the sovereign, I will not take upon me to say; such as it is, the native nobility lament it as a great calamity."

[255] Lord Stanhope, generally well-informed on Spanish affairs, says that Wall was "a native of Ireland." *Mahon's History of England*, vol. iv. p. 182, 3d edit., London, 1853; but in *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. iv. p. 47, edit. Paris, 1829, he is called "irlandais d'origine, né en France." See also *Biografía de Ensenada*, in *Navarrete, Opúsculos*, Madrid, 1848, vol. ii. p. 26, "D. Ricardo Wall, irlandés de orígen, nacido en Francia." Swinburne, who knew him personally, and has given some account of him, does not mention where he was born. *Swinburne's Travels through Spain*, second edition, London, 1787, vol. i. pp. 314-318.

[256] "A Genoese, and a creature of France." *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 170.

[257] "Era Siciliano." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 244.

[258] The fullest account of his dismissal is given by M. Rio, in the first chapter of the second volume of his *Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, which should, however, be compared with *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 340-346. Coxe terms him Squilaci; but I follow the orthography of the Spanish writers, who always call him Esquilache. Such was his influence over the king, that, according to Coxe (vol. iv. p. 347), Charles III. "publicly said, that, 'if he was reduced to a morsel of bread, he would divide it with Squilaci.'"

supreme till 1763.[259] When this eminent Irishman relinquished office, he was succeeded by the Genoese, Grimaldi, who ruled Spain from 1763 to 1777, and was entirely devoted to the French views of policy.[260] His principal patron was Choiseul, who had imbued him with his own notions, and by whose advice he was chiefly guided.[261] Indeed, Choiseul, who was then the first minister in France, used to boast, with exaggeration, but not without a considerable amount of truth, that his influence in Madrid was even greater than it was in Versailles.[262]

However this may be, it is certain that four years after Grimaldi took office, the ascendency of France was exhibited in a remarkable way. Choiseul, who hated the Jesuits, and had just expelled them from France, endeavoured also to expel them from Spain.[263] The execution of the plan was confided to Aranda, who, though a Spaniard by birth, derived his intellectual culture from France, and had contracted, in the society of Paris, an intense hatred of every form of ecclesiastical power.[264] The scheme, secretly prepared, was skilfully accomplished.[265]

[259] *Coxe's Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 15, 135. *Rio, Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. i. pp. 246, 247, 400, 401. *Navarrete, Biografía de Ensenada*, pp. 26-28.

[260] He resigned in 1776, but held office till the arrival of his successor, Florida Blanca, in 1777. *Rio, Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 171, 174. In reference to his appointment, in 1763, M. Rio observes (vol. i. p. 402), "De que Grimaldi creciera en fortuna se pudo congratular no Roma, sino Francia." In 1770, Harris, the diplomatist, who was then in Spain, writes, "His doctrine is absolutely French; guided in every thing by the French closet," &c. *Malmesbury's Diaries and Correspondence*, vol. i. p. 56, London, 1844.

[261] "Guided in his operations by the counsels of Choiseul." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 339. "The prosecution of the schemes which he had concerted with Choiseul." p. 378. "His friend and patron." p. 391, and vol. v. p. 6.

[262] "Personne n'ignoroit le crédit prodigieux que M. de Choiseul avoit sur le roi d'Espagne, dont il se vantoit lui-même, au point que je lui ai ouï dire, qu'il étoit plus sûr de sa prépondérance dans le cabinet de Madrid, que dans celui de Versailles." *Mémoires du Baron de Besenval, écrits par lui-même*, vol. ii. pp. 14, 15, Paris, 1805.

[263] M. Muriel (*Gobierno del Rey Don Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1839, pp. 44, 45) terms their expulsion from Spain "este acto de violencia hecho meramente por complacer al duque de Choiseul, ministro de Francia y protector del partido filosófico." See also *Crétineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. v. p. 291, Paris, 1845; and *Georgel, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Evénemens depuis* 1760, vol. i. p. 95, Paris, 1817.

[264] Archdeacon Coxe, in a somewhat professional tone, says of Aranda, "In France he had acquired the graces of polished society, and *imbibed that freedom of sentiment* which then began to be fashionable, and *has since been carried to such a dangerous excess.*" *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 402. His great enemy, the Prince of the Peace, wishing to be severe, unintentionally praises him; and observes, that he was "connected with the most distinguished literary Frenchmen of the middle of the last century," and that he was "divested of religious prejudices, though swayed by philosophical enthusiasm." *Godoy's Memoirs*, London, 1836, vol. i. p. 319. The hostility of some men is extremely valuable. The Prince further adds, that Aranda "could only lay claim to the inferior merit of a sectarian attachment;" forgetting that, in a country like Spain, every enlightened person must belong to a miserably small sect.

[265] Cabarrus (*Elogio de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. xxiv.) says, rather mag-

In 1767, the Spanish government, without hearing what the Jesuits had to say in their defence, and, indeed, without giving them the least notice, suddenly ordered their expulsion; and with such animosity were they driven from the country, in which they sprung up, and had long been cherished, that not only was their wealth confiscated, and they themselves reduced to a wretched pittance, but even that was directed to be taken from them, if they published any thing in their own vindication; while it was also declared that whoever ventured to write respecting them, should, if he were a subject of Spain, be put to death, as one guilty of high treason.[266]

Such boldness on the part of the government[267] caused even the Inquisition to tremble. That once omnipotent tribunal, threatened and suspected by the civil authorities, became more wary in its proceedings, and more tender in its treatment of heretics. Instead of extirpating unbelievers by hundreds or by thousands, it was reduced to such pitiful straits, that between 1746 and 1759, it was only able to burn ten persons; and between 1759 and 1788, only four persons.[268] The extraordinary diminution during the latter period, was partly owing to the great authority wielded by Aranda, the friend of the encyclopædists and of other French sceptics. This remarkable man was President of Castile till 1773,[269] and he issued an order

niloquently, "El acierto de la execucion que correspondió al pulso y prudencia con que se habia deliberado esta providencia importante, pasará á la ultima posteridad."

[266] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 362. M. Rio, in the second volume of his *History of Charles III.*, Madrid, 1856, has given a long, but not very philosophical, nor very accurate, account of the expulsion of the Jesuits, which he considers solely from the Spanish point of view; overlooking the fact, that it was part of an European movement headed by France. He denies the influence of Choiseul, p. 125; censures the perfectly correct statement of Coxe, p. 123; and finally ascribes this great event to the operation of causes confined to the Peninsula. "De ser los jesuitas adversarios del regalismo emanó su ruina en España, cuando triunfaban las opiniones sostenidas con heróico teson desde mucho ántes por doctísimos jurisconsultos." p. 519.

[267] One of the most recent historians of the Jesuits indignantly observes, "Depuis deux cent vingt ans les Jésuites vivent et prêchent en Espagne. Ils sont comblés de bienfaits par des monarques dont ils étendent la souveraineté. Le clergé et les masses acceptent avec bonheur leur intervention. Tout à coup l'Ordre se voit déclaré coupable d'un crime de lèse-majesté, d'un attentat public que personne ne peut spécifier. La sentence prononce la peine sans énoncer le délit." *Crétineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 5. p. 295, Paris, 1845.

[268] *Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 285, where the facts are well brought together. The valuable *History of the Inquisition*, by Llorente, is not quite precise enough in these matters; though it is a very accurate, and, what is still more surprising, a very honest book.

[269] *Rio, Historia de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 103-107, which must be compared with the account of Coxe, who derived some of his information from a friend of Aranda's. *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 401-415. A good life of Aranda would be very interesting. That contained in the *Biographie Universelle* is extremely meagre, and carelessly written.

forbidding the Inquisition to interfere with the civil courts.[270] He also formed a scheme for entirely abolishing it; but his plan was frustrated, owing to its premature announcement by his friends in Paris, to whom it had been confided.[271] His views, however, were so far successful, that after 1781, there is no instance in Spain of a heretic being burned; the Inquisition being too terrified by the proceedings of government to do any thing which might compromise the safety of the Holy Institution.[272]

In 1777, Grimaldi, one of the chief supporters of that anti-theological policy which France introduced into Spain, ceased to be minister; but he was succeeded by Florida Blanca, who was his creature, and to whom he transmitted his policy as well as his power.[273] The progress, therefore, of political affairs continued in the same direction. Under the new minister, as under his immediate predecessors, a determination was shown to abridge the authority of the Church, and to vindicate the rights of laymen. In every thing, the ecclesiastical interests were treated as subordinate to the secular. Of this, many instances might be given; but one is too important to be omitted. We have seen that, early in the eighteenth century, Alberoni, when at the head of affairs, was guilty of what in Spain was deemed the enormous offence of contracting an alliance with Mohammedans; and there can be no doubt that this was one of the chief causes of his fall, since it was held, that no prospect of mere temporal advantages could justify an union, or even a peace, between a Christian nation and a nation of unbe-

[270] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 407.

[271] "When at Paris, in 1786, I received the following anecdote from a person connected with the encyclopedists. During his residence in that capital, D'Aranda had frequently testified to the literati with whom he associated, his resolution to obtain the abolition of the Inquisition, should he ever be called to power. His appointment was, therefore, exultingly hailed by the party, particularly by D'Alembert; and he had scarcely begun his reforms before an article was inserted in the Encyclopædia, then printing, in which this event was confidently anticipated, from the liberal principles of the minister. D'Aranda was struck on reading this article, and said, 'This imprudent disclosure will raise such a ferment against me, that my plans will be foiled.' He was not mistaken in his conjecture." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 408.

[272] "Even the case in 1781 appears to have been for witchcraft rather than for heresy. "La dernière victime qui périt dans les flammes fut une *béate:* on la brûla à Séville, le 7 novembre 1781, comme ayant fait un pacte, et entretenu un commerce charnel avec le Démon, et pour avoir été impénitente négative. Elle eût pu éviter la mort en s'avouant coupable du crime dont on l'accusait." *Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, Paris, 1818, vol. iv. p. 270. About this time, torture began to be disused in Spain. See an interesting note in *Johnston's Institutes of the Civil Law of Spain*, London, 1825, p. 263.

[273] "Menester es decir que el marqués de Grimaldi cayó venciendo á sus enemigos, pues, léjos de legarles el poder, á que aspiraban con anhelo, trasmitiólo á una de sus más legítimas hechuras; que tal era y por tal se reconocia el conde de Floridablanca." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 151, 152.

lievers.[274] But the Spanish government, which, owing to the causes I have related, was far in advance of Spain itself, was gradually becoming bolder, and growing more and more disposed to force upon the country, views, which, abstractedly considered, were extremely enlightened, but which the popular mind was unable to receive. The result was, that, in 1782, Florida Blanca concluded a treaty with Turkey, which put an end to the war of religious opinions; to the astonishment, as we are told, of the other European powers, who could hardly believe that the Spaniards would thus abandon their long-continued efforts to destroy the infidels.[275] Before, however, Europe had time to recover from its amazement, other and similar events occurred, equally startling. In 1784, Spain signed a peace with Tripoli; and, in 1785, one with Algiers.[276] And scarcely had these been ratified, when, in 1786, a treaty was also concluded with Tunis.[277] So that the Spanish people, to their no small surprise, found themselves on terms of amity with nations, whom for more than ten centuries they had been taught to abhor, and whom, in the opinion of the Spanish Church, it was the first duty of a Christian government to make war upon, and, if possible, to extirpate.

Putting aside, for a moment, the remote and intellectual consequences of these transactions, there can be no doubt that the immediate and material consequences were very salutary; though, as we shall presently see, they produced no lasting benefit, because they were opposed by the unfavourable operation of more powerful and more general causes. Still, it must be confessed that the direct results were extremely advantageous; and to those who take a short view of human affairs, it might well appear that the advantages would be permanent.

[274] In 1690, it was stated that "since the expulsion of the Moors," there was no precedent for the King of Spain ever sending an envoy to a Mohammedan prince. See *Mahon's Spain under Charles II.*, p. 5. In that year, an envoy was sent to Morocco; but this was merely concerning the redemption of prisoners, and certainly without the remotest intention of concluding a peace.

[275] "The other European courts, with surprise and regret, witnessed the conclusion of a treaty which terminated the political and religious rivalry so long subsisting between Spain and the Porte." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. pp. 152, 153. "Une des maximes de la politique espagnole avait été celle de maintenir une guerre perpétuelle contre les mahométans, même après la conquête de Grenade. Ni les pertes incalculables éprouvées par suite de ce système, ni l'exemple de la France et d'autres puissances catholiques qui ne se faisaient point scruple d'être en paix avec les Turcs, n'avaient suffi pour détromper l'Espagne sur l'inconvenance d'une telle politique. Le génie éclairé de Charles III. corrigea un préjugé aussi dangereux; dicta la paix avec les empereurs de Turquie et d'autres potentats mahométans; delivra ses sujets de la terrible piraterie des corsaires, et ouvrit à leur commerce de nouvelles voies pour spéculer avec de plus grands avantages." *Sempere, La Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 160.

[276] *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III*, vol. iv. pp. 11-13.

[277] *Ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 16, 17.

The immense line of coast from the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco to the furthest extremity of the Turkish empire, was no longer allowed to pour forth those innumerable pirates, who, heretofore, swept the seas, captured Spanish ships, and made slaves of Spanish subjects. Formerly, vast sums of money were annually consumed in ransoming these unhappy prisoners;[278] but now all such evils were ended. At the same time, great impetus was given to the commerce of Spain; a new trade was thrown open, and her ships could safely appear in the rich countries of the Levant. This increased her wealth; which was moreover aided by another circumstance growing out of these events. For, the most fertile parts of Spain are those which are washed by the Mediterranean, and which had for centuries been the prey of Mohammedan corsairs, who, frequently landing by surprise, had at length caused such constant fear, that the inhabitants gradually retired towards the interior, and abstained from cultivating the richest soil in their country. But, by the treaties just concluded, such dangers were at once removed; the people returned to their former abodes; the earth again gave forth its fruits; regular industry reappeared; villages sprung up; even manufactures were established; and the foundation seemed to be laid for a prosperity, the like of which had not been known since the Mohammedans were driven out of Granada.[279]

[278] "Ha sido notable el número de cautivos, que los piratas de Berbería han hecho sobre nuestras costas por tres centurias. En el siglo pasado se solian calcular exístentes á la vez en Argel, treinta mil personas españolas. Su rescate á razon de mil pesos por cada persona á lo menos, ascendia á 30 millones de pesos." *Campomanes, Apendice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. i. p. 373, Madrid, 1775. On the precautions which had to be used to guard the coasts of Spain against the Mohammedan corsairs, see *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, Madrid, 1757, folio, pp. 172, 173, 222-226; and *Lafuente, Historia de España*, vol. xv. p. 476, Madrid, 1855. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a regular watch had to be kept along the Mediterranean coast of Spain, "in order to give the alarm upon the appearance of the enemy." See *A Tour through Spain by Udal ap Rhys*, 2d edit., London, 1760, p. 170. As to the state of things in the seventeenth century, see *Janer, Condicion de los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1857, p. 63.

[279] "De esta suerte quedaron los mares limpios de piratas desde los reinos de Fez y Marruecos hasta los últimos dominios del emperador Turco, por el Mediterráneo todo; vióse á menudo la bandera española en Levante, y las mismas naciones mercantiles que la persiguieron indirectamente, preferíanla ahora, resultando el aumento del comercio y de la Real marina, y la pericia de sus tripulaciones, y el mayor brillo de España y de su augusto Soberano: termino hubo la esclavitud de tantos millares de infelices con abandono de sus familias é indelebles perjuicios de la religion y el Estado, cesando tambien la contínua extraccion de enormes sumas para los rescates que, al paso que nos empobrecian, pasaban á enriquecer á nuestros contrarios, y á facilitar sus armamentos para ofendernos; y se empezaban á cultivar rápidamente en las costas del Mediterráneo leguas de terrenos los más fertiles del mundo, desamparados y eriales hasta entónces por miedo á los piratas, y donde se formaban ya pueblos enteros para dar salida á los frutos y las manufacturas." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 17, 18.

I have now laid before the reader a view of the most important steps which were taken by those able and vigorous politicians, who ruled Spain, during the greater part of the eighteenth century. In considering how these reforms were effected we must not forget the personal character of Charles III., who occupied the throne from 1759 to 1788.[280] He was a man of great energy, and though born in Spain, had little in common with it. When he became king, he had been long absent from his native country, and had contracted a taste for customs, and, above all, for opinions, totally dissimilar to those natural to the Spaniards.[281] Comparing him with his subjects, he was enlightened indeed. They cherished in their hearts the most complete, and therefore the worst, form of spiritual power which has ever been exhibited in Europe. That very power, he made it his business to restrain. In this, as in other respects, he far surpassed Ferdinand VI. and Philip V., though they, under the influence of French ideas, had proceeded to what was deemed a dangerous length.[282] The clergy, indignant at such proceedings, murmured, and even threatened.[283] They declared that Charles was despoiling the Church, taking away her rights, insulting her ministers, and thus ruining Spain beyond human remedy.[284] The king, however, whose disposition was firm, and

[280] M. Rio, whose voluminous History of the Reign of Charles III. is, notwithstanding its numerous omissions, a work of considerable value, has appreciated the personal influence of the king more justly than any previous writer; he having had access to unpublished papers, which show the great energy and activity of Charles. "Entre sus mas notables figuras ninguna aventaja á la de Cárlos III.; y no por el lugar jerárquico que ocupa, sino por el brillante papel que representa, ora tome la iniciativa, ora el consejo, para efectuar las innumerables reformas que le valieron inextinguible fama. Ya sé que algunos tachan á este Monarca de cortedad de luces y de estrechez de miras; y que algunos otros suponen que sus ministros le engañaron ó sorprendieron para dictar ciertas providencias. Cuarenta y ocho tomos de cartas semanales y escritas de su puño desde octubre de 1759 hasta marzo de 1783 al marques de Tanucci, existentes en el archivo de Simancas, por mí leidas hoja tras hoja, sacando de ellas largos apuntes, sirven á maravilla para pintarle tal como era, y penetrar hasta sus más recónditos pensamientos, y contradecir á los que le juzgan á bulto." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. i. pp. xxii. xxiii.

[281] "Although born and educated in Spain, Charles had quitted the country at too early an age to retain a partiality to its customs, laws, manners, and language; while, from his residence abroad, and his intercourse with France, he had formed a natural predilection for the French character and institutions." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. p. 337.

[282] He "far surpassed his two predecessors in his exertions to reform the morals, and restrain the power of the clergy." *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 215.

[283] His measures "alarmaron al clero en general, que empezó á murmurar con impaciencia, y aun algunos de sus individuos se propasaron á violentos actos." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p 98.

[284] A popular charge against the government was, "que se despojara á la Iglesia de sus inmunidades." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. ii. p. 54. See also at pp. 201, 202, a letter, in 1766, from the Bishop of Cuenca to the King's confessor, in which that prelate stated, "que España corria á su ruina, que ya no

somewhat obstinate, persevered in his policy; and as he and his ministers were men of undoubted ability, they, notwithstanding the opposition they encountered, succeeded in accomplishing most of their plans. Mistaken and short-sighted though they were, it is impossible to refrain from admiring the honesty, the courage, and the disinterestedness, which they displayed, in endeavouring to alter the destiny of that superstitious and half-barbarous country over which they ruled. We must not, however, conceal from ourselves, that in this, as in all similar cases, they, by attacking evils which the people were resolved to love, increased the affection which the evils inspired. To seek to change opinions by laws, is worse than futile. It not only fails, but it causes a reaction, which leaves the opinions stronger than ever. First alter the opinion, and then you may alter the law. As soon as you have convinced men that superstition is mischievous, you may with advantage take active steps against those classes who promote superstition and live by it. But, however pernicious any interest or any great body may be, beware of using force against it, unless the progress of knowledge has previously sapped it at its base, and loosened its hold over the national mind. This has always been the error of the most ardent reformers, who, in their eagerness to effect their purpose, let the political movement outstrip the intellectual one, and, thus inverting the natural order, secure misery either to themselves or to their descendants. They touch the altar, and fire springs forth to consume them. Then comes another period of superstition and of despotism; another dark epoch in the annals of the human race. And this happens merely because men will not bide their time, but will insist on precipitating the march of affairs. Thus, for instance, in France and Germany, it is the friends of freedom who have strengthened tyranny; it is the enemies of superstition who have made superstition more permanent. In those countries, it is still believed that government can regenerate society; and therefore, directly they who hold liberal opinions get possession of the government, they use their power too lavishly, thinking that by doing so, they will best secure the end at which they aim. In England, the same delusion, though less general, is far too prevalent; but as, with us, public opinion controls politicians, we escape from evils which have happened abroad, because we will not allow any government to enact laws which the nation disapproves. In Spain, however, the habits of the

corria, sino que volaba, y que ya estaba perdida sin remedio humano;" and that the cause of this was the persecution of the poor Church, which was "saqueada en sus bienes, ultrajada en sus ministros, y atropellada en su inmunidad."

people were so slavish, and their necks had so long been bowed under the yoke, that though the government, in the eighteenth century, opposed their dearest prejudices, they rarely ventured to resist, and they had no legal means of making their voice heard. But not the less did they feel. The materials for reaction were silently accumulating; and before that century had passed away, the reaction itself was manifest. As long as Charles III. lived, it was kept under; and this was owing partly to the fear which his active and vigorous government inspired, and partly to the fact that many of the reforms which he introduced, were so obviously beneficial, as to shed a lustre on his reign, which all classes could perceive. Besides the exemption which his policy insured from the incessant ravages of pirates, he also succeeded in obtaining for Spain the most honourable peace which any Spanish government had signed for two centuries; thus recalling to the popular mind, the brightest and most glorious days of Philip II.[285] When Charles came to the throne, Spain was hardly a third-rate power; when he died, she might fairly claim to be a first-rate one, since she had for some years negotiated on equal terms with France, England, and Austria, and had taken a leading part in the councils of Europe. To this, the personal character of Charles greatly contributed; he being respected for his honesty, as well as feared for his vigour.[286] Merely as a man, he bore high repute; while, as a sovereign, none of his contemporaries were in any way equal to him, except Frederick of Prussia, whose vast abilities were, however, tarnished by a base rapacity, and by an incessant desire to overreach his neighbours. Charles III. had nothing of this; but he carefully increased the defences of Spain, and, raising her establishments to a war-footing, he made her more formidable than she had been since the sixteenth century.

[285] Coxe (*Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 144) calls the peace of 1783 "the most honourable and advantageous ever concluded by the crown of Spain since the peace of St. Quintin." Similarly, M. Rio (*Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. p. 397), "Siglos habian pasado para España de continuas y porfiadas contiendas, sin llegar nunca, desde la famosa jornada de San Quintin y al alborear el reinado de Felipe II., tan gloriosamente al reposo."

[286] Towards the close of his reign, we find a contemporary observer, who was any thing but prejudiced in his favour, bearing testimony to "the honest and obstinate adherence of his present Catholic Majesty to all his treaties, principles, and engagements." *Letters by an English Officer*, London, 1788, vol. ii. p. 329. Compare Muriel (*Gobierno del Rey Don Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1839, p. 34), "Tan conocido llegó á ser Cárlos III. en los reinos estraños por la rectitud de su carácter, que en las desavenencias que ocurrian entre los gobiernos, todos consentian en tomarle por árbitro, y se sometian á sus decisiones;" and Cabarrus (*Elogio de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. xl.), "Esta probidad llega á ser el resorte político de la Europa; todas las cortes penetradas de respeto á sus virtudes le buscan por árbitro y mediador." Evidence of the great respect paid to Charles III. by foreign powers, will also be found in *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 41-43, 253.

Instead of being liable to insult from every petty potentate who chose to triumph over her weakness, the country had now the means of resisting, and, if need be, of attacking. While the army was greatly improved in the quality of the troops, in their discipline, and in the attention paid to their comforts, the navy was nearly doubled in number, and more than doubled in efficiency.[287] And this was done without imposing fresh burdens on the people. Indeed, the national resources were becoming so developed, that, in the reign of Charles III., a large amount of taxation could have been easier paid than a small one under his predecessors. A regularity, hitherto unknown, was introduced into the method both of assessing imposts, and of collecting them.[288] The laws of mortmain were relaxed, and steps were taken towards diminishing the rigidity of entails.[289] The industry of the country was liberated from many of the trammels which had long been imposed upon it, and the principles of free trade were so far recognized, that, in 1765, the old laws respecting corn were repealed; its exportation was allowed, and also its transit from one part of Spain to another, uninterrupted by those absurd precautions, which preceding governments had thought it advisable to invent.[290]

It was also in the reign of Charles III. that the American Colonies were, for the first time, treated according to the maxims of a wise and liberal policy. The behaviour of the Spanish government in this respect, contrasts most favourably with the conduct pursued at the same time towards our great Colonies by that narrow and incompetent man who then filled the English throne. While the violence of George III. was fomenting rebellion in the British Colonies, Charles III. was busily engaged in conciliating the Spanish ones. Towards this end, and with the object of giving fair play to the growth of their wealth, he did every thing which the knowledge and resources of that age allowed him to do. In 1764, he accomplished, what was

[287] On the increase of the navy, compare *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 127, with *Muriel, Gobierno del Rey Carlos III.*, pp. 73, 82.

[288] These financial improvements were due, in a great measure, to the Frenchman, Cabarrus. See *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 122, 123.

[289] Rio, *ibid.*, vol. iv. pp. 164-166, and *Tapia, Civilizacion Españala*, vol. iv. pp. 96, 97.

[290] "La providencia mas acertada para el fomento de nuestra agricultura fue sin duda la real pragmática de 11 de julio de 1765, por la cual se abolió la tasa de los granos, y se permitió el libre comercio de ellos." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 105. See also *Dillon's Spain*, p. 69, and *Townsend's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 230. The first step towards this great reform was taken in 1752. See the edict issued in that year, "Libertase de Derechos el trigo, cebada, centeno y maiz que por mar se transportáre de unas provincias á otras de estos dominios." This document, which is important for the history of political economy, is printed in the Appendix to *Campomanes, Educacion Popular*, vol. ii. pp. 16, 17, Madrid, 1775.

then considered the great feat of establishing every month a regular communication with America, in order that the reforms which he projected might be more easily introduced, and the grievances of the Colonies attended to.[291] In the very next year, free trade was conceded to the West Indian Islands, whose abundant commodities were now, for the first time, allowed to circulate, to their own benefit, as well as to the benefit of their neighbours.[292] Into the Colonies generally, vast improvements were introduced, many oppressions were removed, the tyranny of officials was checked, and the burdens of the people were lightened.[293] Finally, in 1778, the principles of free trade having been successfully tried in the American Islands, were now extended to the American Continent; the ports of Peru and of New Spain were thrown open; and by this means an immense impetus was given to the prosperity of those magnificent colonies, which nature intended to be rich, but which the meddling folly of man had forced to be poor.[294]

All this reacted upon the mother country with such rapidity, that scarcely was the old system of monopoly broken up, when the trade of Spain began to advance, and continued to improve, until the exports and imports had reached a height that even the authors of the reform could hardly have expected; it being said, that the export of foreign commodities was tripled, that the export of home-produce was multiplied fivefold, and the returns from America ninefold.[295]

[291] "Pronto se establecieron los correos marítimos y se comunicaron con regularidad y frecuencia no vistas hasta entónces la metrópoli y las colonias. Por efecto del importante decreto de 24 de agosto de 1764, salia el primero de cada mes un paquebot de la Coruña con toda la correspondencia de las Indias; desembarcábala en la Habana, y desde allí se distribuia en balandras y otros bajeles á propósito para puntear los vientos escasos, á Veracruz, Portobelo, Cartagena, islas de Barlovento y provincias de la Plata; y aquellos ligeros buques volvian á la Habana, de donde zarpaba mensualmente y en dia fijo otro paquebot para la Coruña." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. i. p. 452. That part of the plan, however, which aimed at making Coruña a rival of Cadiz, appears to have been unsuccessful. See a letter from Coruña, written in 1774, in *Dalrymple's Travels through Spain*, London, 1777, 4to, p. 99.

[292] See the edicts in *Campomanes, Apendice*, vol. ii. pp. 37-47, Madrid, 1775. They are both dated October 16th, 1765.

[293] It was said, with reason, by Alaman, "que el gobierno de América llegó al colmo de su perfeccion en tiempo de Carlos III." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. p. 141. And Humboldt observes (*Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, Paris, 1811, 4to, vol. i. p. 102), "C'est le roi Charles III. surtout qui, par des mesures aussi sages qu'énergiques, est devenu le bienfaiteur des indigènes; il a annulé les *Encomiendas*; il a défendu les *Repartimientos*, par lesquels les corregidors se constituoient arbitrairement les créanciers, et par conséquent les maîtres du travail des natifs, en les pourvoyant, à des prix exagérés, de chevaux, de mulets et de vêtemens (*ropa*)."

[294] *Cabarrus, Elogio de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1789, p. xlii., and Canga's note in *Martinez de la Mata, Dos Discursos*, Madrid, 1794, p. 31. But these writers were not sufficiently familiar with political economy, really to appreciate this measure.

[295] "Early in the reign of Charles, steps had been taken towards the adoption

Many of the taxes, which bore heavily on the lower ranks, were repealed, and the industrious classes being relieved of their principal burdens, it was hoped that their condition would speedily improve.[296] And to benefit them still more, such alterations were effected in the administration of the law, as might enable them to receive justice from the public tribunals, when they had occasion to complain of their superiors. Hitherto, a poor man had not the least chance of succeeding against a rich one; but in the reign of Charles III., government introduced various regulations, by which labourers and mechanics could obtain redress, if their masters defrauded them of their wages, or broke the contracts made with them.[297]

Not only the labouring classes, but also the literary and scientific classes, were encouraged and protected. One source of danger, to which they had long been exposed, was considerably lessened by the steps which Charles took to curtail the power of the Inquisition. The king was, moreover, always ready to reward them; he was a man of cultivated tastes, and he delighted in being thought the patron of learning.[298] Soon after his accession, he issued an order, exempting from military service all printers, and all persons immediately connected with printing, such as casters of type, and the like.[299] He also, as far as he was able, infused new life into the old universities, and did all that was possible towards restoring their discipline and reputation.[300] He founded schools, endowed colleges, rewarded professors, and granted pensions. In these matters, his munificence seemed inexhaustible, and is of itself sufficient to account for the veneration with which literary Spaniards regard his memory. They have reason to regret that, instead of liv-

of more liberal principles in the commerce with America; but in the year 1778, a complete and radical change was introduced. The establishment of a free trade rapidly produced the most beneficial consequences. The export of foreign goods was tripled, of home produce quintupled; and the returns from America augmented in the astonishing proportion of nine to one. The produce of the customs increased with equal rapidity." *Clarke's Examination of the Internal State of Spain*, London, 1818, p. 72.

[296] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. pp. 197, 317, 318.

[297] See Florida Blanca's statement in *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol v. p. 331; "to facilitate to artisans and journeymen the scanty payment of their labours, in spite of the privileges and interest of the powerful."

[298] *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 317, 318, and elsewhere.

[299] "'Desde mi feliz advenimiento al trono' (dijo el Rey en la ordenanza de reemplazos) 'ha merecido mi Real proteccion el arte de la imprenta, y, para que pueda arraigarse sólidamente en estos reinos, vengo en declarar la exencion del sorteo y servicio militar, no solo á los impresores, sino tambien á los fundidores que se empleen de continuo en este ejercicio, y á los abridores de punzones y matrices.'" *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. p. 213.

[300] On the steps taken to reform the universities between 1768 and 1774, see *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 185-210. Compare vol. iv. pp. 296-299.

ing now, they had not lived when he was king. In his reign, it was supposed that their interests must be identical with the interests of knowledge; and these last were rated so highly, that, in 1771, it was laid down as a settled principle of government, that of all the branches of public policy, the care of education is the most important.[301]

But this is not all. It is no exaggeration to say, that in the reign of Charles III. the face of Spain underwent greater changes than it had done during the hundred and fifty years which had elapsed since the final expulsion of the Mohammedans. At his accession, in 1759, the wise and pacific policy of his predecessor, Ferdinard VI., had enabled that prince not only to pay many of the debts owed by the crown, but also to accumulate and leave behind him a considerable treasure.[302] Of this, Charles availed himself, to begin those works of public splendour, which, more than any other part of his administration, was sure to strike the senses, and to give popularity to his reign. And when, by the increase of wealth, rather than by the imposition of fresh burdens, still larger resources were placed at his command, he devoted a considerable part of them to completing his designs. He so beautified Madrid, that forty years after his leath, it was stated, that, as it then stood, all its magnificence was owing to him. The public buildings and the public gardens, the beautiful walks around the capital, its noble gates, its institutions, and the very roads leading from it to the adjacent country, are all the work of Charles III., and are among the most conspicuous trophies which attest his genius and the sumptuousness of his taste.[303]

[301] "La educacion de la juventud por los maestros de primeras letras es uno y aun el más principal ramo de la policía y buen gobierno del Estado." *Real Provision de* 11 *de julio de* 1771, printed in Rio, vol. iii. p. 182.

[302] M. Lafuente, who has justly praised the love of peace displayed by Ferdinand VI. (*Historia de España*, vol. i. p. 202, vol. xix. pp. 286, 378), adds (vol. xix. p. 384), "De modo que con razon se admira, y es el testimonio mas honroso de la buena administracion económica de este reinado, que al morir este buen monarca dejára, no diremos nosotros repletas y apuntaladas las arcas públicas, como hiperbólicamente suele decirse, pero sí con el considerable sobrante de trescientos millones de reales, despues de cubiertas todas las atenciones del Estado: fenómeno que puede decirse se veia por primera vez en España, y resultado satisfactorio, que aun supuesta una buena administracion, solo pudo obtenerse á favor de su prudente política de neutralidad y de paz."

[303] "But it is to Charles III. that Madrid owes all its present magnificence. Under his care, the royal palace was finished, the noble gates of Alcalá and San Vincente were raised; the custom-house, the post-office, the museum, and royal printing-office, were constructed; the academy of the three noble arts improved; the cabinet of natural history, the botanic garden, the national bank of San Carlos, and many gratuitous schools established; while convenient roads leading from the city, and delightful walks planted within and without it, and adorned by statues and fountains, combine to announce the solicitude of this paternal king." *Spain by an American*, London, 1831, vol. i. p. 206; see also p. 297.

In other parts of the country, roads were laid down, and canals were dug, with the view of increasing trade, by opening up communications through tracts previously impassable. At the accession of Charles III., the whole of the Sierra Morena was unoccupied, except by wild beasts and banditti, who took refuge there.[304] No peaceful traveller would venture into such a place; and commerce was thus excluded from what nature had marked as one of the greatest highways in Spain, standing as it does between the basins of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir, and in the direct course between the ports on the Mediterranean and those on the Atlantic. The active government of Charles III. determined to remedy this evil; but the Spanish people not having the energy to do what was required, six thousand Dutch and Flemish were, in 1767, invited to settle in the Sierra Morena. On their arrival, lands were allotted to them, roads were cut through the whole of the district, villages were built; and that which had just been an impervious desert, was suddenly turned into a smiling and fruitful territory.[305]

Nearly all over Spain, the roads were repaired; a fund having been, so early as 1760, specially set apart for that purpose.[306] Many new works were begun; and such improvements were introduced, while, at the same time, such vigilance was employed to prevent peculation on the part of officials, that in a very few years the cost of making public highways was reduced to less than half of what it used to be.[307] Of the undertakings which were brought to a successful issue, the most important were, a road now first constructed from Malaga to

[304] The following passage describes its state so late as the year 1766: "Por temor ó por connivencia de los venteros, dentro de sus casas concertaban frecuentemente los ladrones sus robos, y los ejecutaban á mansalva, ocultándose en guaridas de que ahuyentaban á las fieras. Acaso á muy largas distancias se descubrian entre contados caseríos algunos pastores como los que allí hizo encontrar el ilustre manco de Lepanto al ingenioso hidalgo de la Mancha. Parte de la Sierra estuvo poblada en tiempo de moros; actualmente ya no habia más que espesos matorrales hasta en torno de la ermita de Santa Elena, donde resonaron cánticos de gracias al Cielo por el magnífico triunfo de las Navas." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. p. 9. On the condition of the Sierra Morena a hundred years before this, see *Boisel, Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*, Paris, 1669, 4to, pp. 62, 296, where it is termed "le lieu le plus desert, et où il n'y a que quelques *ventas* sans villages."

[305] *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iii. pp. 9-11, 35. By 1771, "sin auxilio de la Real hacienda pudieron mantenerse al fin los colonos." p. 42. See also vol. iv. pp. 114, 115. On the subsequent history of this settlement, see *Inglis' Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 29-31, London, 1831.

[306] "En 1760 se destinó por primera vez un fondo especial para la construccion de caminos." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 123.

[307] Indeed, M. Rio says, that the expense was reduced by two-thirds, and, in some parts, by three-fourths. "Antes se regulaba en un millon de reales la construccion de cada legua; ahora solo ascendia á la tercera ó cuarta parte de esta suma." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. p. 117.

Antequera,[308] and another from Aquilas to Lorca.[309] In this way, means of intercourse were supplied between the Mediterranean and the interior of Andalusia and of Murcia. While these communications were established in the south and southeast of Spain, others were opened up in the north and northwest. In 1769, a road was begun between Bilbao and Osma;[310] and soon after, one was completed between Galicia and Astorga.[311] These and similar works were so skilfully executed, that the Spanish highways, formerly among the worst in Europe, were now classed among the best. Indeed, a competent, and by no means overfriendly, judge gives it as his opinion, that at the death of Charles III. better roads were to be found in Spain than in any other country.[312]

In the interior, rivers were made navigable, and canals were formed to connect them with each other. The Ebro runs through the heart of Aragon and part of Old Castile, and is available for purposes of traffic as high up as Logroño, and from thence down to Tudèla. But between Tudela and Saragossa, the navigation is interrupted by its great speed, and by the rocks in its bed. Consequently, Navarre is deprived of its natural communication with the Mediterranean. In the enterprizing reign of Charles V., an attempt was made to remedy this evil; but the plan failed, was laid aside, and was forgotten, until it was revived, more than two hundred years later, by Charles III. Under his auspices, the great canal of Aragon was projected, with the magnificent idea of uniting the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. This, however, was one of the many instances in which the government of Spain was too far in advance of Spain itself; and it was necessary to abandon a

[308] A note in *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. 158, terms this "un camino alineado y sólido." In *Cook's Spain*, London, 1834, vol. i. p. 209, it is called "a magnificent road."

[309] "Para dar salida á los frutos, que regaban los pantanos de Lorca, ejecutóse una bien trazada via al puerto de las Aguilas." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. pp. 115, 116.

[310] In 1769, Baretti writes, in great surprise, "the Biscayans are actually making a noble road, which is to go from Bilbao to Osma." *Baretti's Journey through England, Portugal Spain, and France*, London, 1770, vol. iv. p. 311.

[311] "Otras diferentes carreteras, construidas de nuevo ó rehabilitadas, multiplicaron las comunicaciones durante los nueve primeros años de estar á cargo de Floridablanca la superintendencia general de caminos, haciéndose de fácil y cómodo tránsito puntos escabrosos como el del Puerto de la Cadena y los que médian entre Astorga y Galicia, y Málaga y Antequera." *Rio, Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, vol. iv. p. 115.

[312] "The reigns of Ferdinand the Sixth and Charles the Third produced the most beneficial changes in this important branch of political economy. New roads were opened, which were carefully levelled, and constructed with solidity. There are at the present time in Spain several superb roads, such as may vie with the finest in Europe; indeed, they have been made with superior judgment, and upon a grander scale." *Laborde's Spain*, edit. London, 1809, vol. iv. p. 427.

scheme, to which the resources of the country were unequal. But what was really effected, was of immense value. A canal was actually carried to Saragossa, and the waters of the Ebro were made available not only for transport, but also for irrigating the soil. The means of a safe and profitable trade were now supplied even to the western extremity of Aragon. The old land, becoming more productive, rose in value, and new land was brought under the plough. From this, other parts of Spain also benefited. Castile, for example, had in seasons of scarcity always depended for supplies on Aragon, though that province could, under the former system, only produce enough for its own consumption. But by this great canal, to which, about the same time, that of Tauste was also added,[313] the soil of Aragon became far more productive than it had ever yet been; and the rich plains of the Ebro yielded so abundantly, that they were able to supply wheat and other food to the Castilians, as well as to the Aragonese.[314]

The government of Charles III., moreover, constructed a canal between Amposta and Alfaques,[315] which irrigated the southern extremity of Catalonia, and brought into cultivation a large district, which, from the constant lack of rain, had hitherto been untilled. Another, and still greater enterprise belonging to the same region, was an attempt, only partly successful, to establish a water-communication between the capital and the Atlantic, by running a canal from Madrid to Toledo, whence the Tagus would have conveyed goods to Lisbon, and all the trade of the west would have been opened up.[316] But this and many other noble projects were nipped in the bud by the death of Charles III., with whom every thing vanished. When he passed away, the country relapsed into its former inactivity, and it was clearly seen that these great works were not national, but political; in other words, that they were due merely to individuals, whose most strenuous exertions always

[313] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 287.

[314] *Ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 198, 199, 286, 287. *Townsend's Spain*, vol. i. pp. 212-215. *Laborde's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 271. This canal, which was intended to establish a free communication between the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean, is slightly noticed in *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. iv. pp. 95, 96; a learned and valuable work, but very imperfect as regards Spain. The economical value of this great enterprise, and the extent to which it succeeded, are seriously under-estimated in *Ford's Spain*, p. 587; a book which, notwithstanding the praise that has been conferred upon it, is carelessly composed, and is sure to mislead readers who have not the means of comparing it with other authorities. M. Rio's History of Charles III. contains some interesting information on the subject; but, unfortunately, I omitted to mark the passages.

[315] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. pp. 288, 289, on the authority of Florida Blanca himself.

[316] *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 199. *Townsend's Spain*, vol. i. p. 304.

come to naught, if they are opposed by the operation of those general causes, which are often undiscerned, but to which even the strongest of us do, in our own despite, pay implicit obedience.

Still, for a time, much was done; and Charles, reasoning according to the ordinary maxims of politicians, might well indulge the hope, that what he had effected would permanently change the destiny of Spain. For these, and other works which he not only planned but executed,[317] were not paid for, as is too often the case, by taxes which oppressed the people, and trammeled their industry. At his side, and constantly advising him, there were men who really aimed at the public good, and who never would have committed so fatal an error. Under his rule, the wealth of the country greatly increased, and the comforts of the lower classes, instead of being abridged, were multiplied. The imposts were more fairly assessed than they had ever been before. Taxes, which, in the seventeenth century, all the power of the executive could not wring from the people, were now regularly paid, and, owing to the development of the national resources, they became at once more productive and less onerous. In the management of the public finances, an economy was practised, the first example of which had been set in the preceding reign, when the cautious and pacific policy of Ferdinand VI. laid a foundation for many of the improvements just narrated. Ferdinand bequeathed to Charles III. a treasure which he had not extorted, but saved. Among the reforms which he introduced, and which an unwillingness to accumulate details has compelled me to omit, there is one very important, and also very characteristic of his policy. Before his reign, Spain had annually been drained of an immense amount of money, on account of the right which the Pope claimed of presenting to certain rich benefices, and of receiving part of their

[317] See Florida Blanca's statement, in *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 289. "In many other parts similar works have been promoted, for canals of irrigation, and for encouraging agriculture and traffic. The canals of Manzanares and Guadarrama are continued by means of the national bank, which has appropriated one-half of the profits derived from the export of silver to this end." . . . . . "The town of Almuradiel, formed in the middle of the *campo nuevo* of Andalusia, for the rugged pass of Despeña Perros, is another example of agriculture for the neighbouring places; since, instead of woods and frightful deserts, we have seen in a few years public buildings, houses, plantations, and cultivated lands, producing every species of grain and fruits, which border the road, and banish the danger of robbers and banditti." See also *Muriel, Gobierno del Rey Don Carlos III.*, p. 5. "Habiendo sido el reinado de Carlos III. una serie continua de mejoras en todos ramos;" and the striking picture (p. 15), "Agricultura, artes mecánicas, comercio, enseñanza, milicia, navegacion, ciencias, letras, legislacion, en una palabra, todo cuanto puede influir en la prosperidad del Estado, todo llamó la atencion de los ministros, y en todo hicieron las mejoras que permitian las circunstancias." On the improvements in internal communications, see the same valuable work, pp. 187-192.

produce; probably as a recompense for the trouble he had taken. Of this duty, the Pope was relieved by Ferdinand VI., who secured to the Spanish crown the right of conferring such preferment, and thus saved to the country those enormous sums on which the Roman Court had been wont to revel.[318] This was just the sort of measure which would be hailed with delight by Charles III., as harmonizing with his own views; and we accordingly find, that, in his reign, it was not only acted upon, but extended still further. For, perceiving that, in spite of his efforts, the feeling of the Spaniards on these matters was so strong as to impel them to make offerings to him whom they venerated as the Head of the Church, the king determined to exercise control over even these voluntary gifts. To accomplish this end, various devices were suggested; and at length one was hit upon, which was thought sure to be effectual. A royal order was issued, directing that no person should send money to Rome, but that if he had occasion to make remittances there, they should pass not through the ordinary channels, but through the ambassadors, ministers, or other agents of the Spanish Crown.[319]

If we now review the transactions which I have narrated, and consider them as a whole, extending from the accession of Philip V. to the death of Charles III., over a period of nearly ninety years, we shall be struck with wonder at their unity, at the regularity of their march, and at their apparent success. Looking at them merely in a political point of view, it may be doubted if such vast and uninterrupted progress has ever been seen in any country either before or since. For three generations, there was no pause on the part of the government; not one reaction, not one sign of halting. Improvement upon improvement, and reform upon reform, followed each other in swift succession. The power of the Church, which has always been the crying evil of Spain, and which hitherto none of the boldest politicians had dared to touch, was restricted in every possible way, by a series of statesmen, from Orry to Florida

[318] Respecting this step, which was effected in 1754, see *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, Madrid, 1840, vol. iv. pp. 81, 82. "Fue este tratado utilísimo para la España, pues por él se libertó del pago de enormes sumas que hasta entonces habian pasado á los estados pontificos. En el informe canonicó-legal escrito á virtud de real órden en 1746 por el fiscal de la cámara de Castilla Don Blas de Jover, se decia; que segun el testimonio del historiador Cabrera, en el espacio de 30 años el solo renglon de las coadjutorias y dispensas habia hecho pasar á Roma de la corona de Castilla millon y medio de ducados romanos. Y añade el mismo Jover que á principios del siglo xviii. subia aun esta contribucion cada año en todos los estados de la monarquia española á 500,000 escudos romanos, que era *un tercio poco mas á menos de lo que Roma percibia de toda la cristiandad.*"

[319] See Appendix I. to *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 334.

Blanca, whose efforts were latterly, and for nearly thirty years, zealously aided by Charles III., the ablest monarch who has sat on the throne since the death of Philip II. Even the Inquisition was taught to tremble, and made to loosen its hold over its victims. The burning of heretics was stopped. Torture was disused. Prosecutions for heresy were discouraged. Instead of punishing men for imaginary offences, a disposition was shown to attend to their real interests, to alleviate their burdens, to increase their comforts, and to check the tyranny of those who were set over them. Attempts were made to restrain the cupidity of the clergy, and prevent them from preying at will upon the national wealth. With this view, the laws of mortmain were revised, and various measures taken to interpose obstacles in the way of persons who desired to waste their property by bequeathing it for ecclesiastical purposes. In this, as in other matters, the true interests of society were preferred to the fictitious ones. To raise the secular classes above the spiritual; to discountenance the exclusive attention hitherto paid to questions respecting which nothing is known, and which it is impossible to solve; to do this, and, in the place of such barren speculations, to substitute a taste for science, or for literature, became the object of the Spanish government for the first time since Spain had possessed a government at all. As part of the same scheme, the Jesuits were expelled, the right of sanctuary was infringed, and the whole hierarchy, from the highest bishop down to the lowest monk, were taught to fear the law, to curb their passions, and to restrain the insolence with which they had formerly treated every rank except their own. These would have been great deeds in any country; in such a country as Spain, they were marvellous. Of them I have given an abridged, and therefore an imperfect, account, but still sufficient to show how the government laboured to diminish superstition, to check bigotry, to stimulate intellect, to promote industry, and to rouse the people from their death-like slumber. I have omitted many measures of considerable interest, and which tended in the same direction; because, here, as elsewhere, I seek to confine myself to those salient points which most distinctly mark the general movement. Whoever will minutely study the history of Spain during this period, will find additional proof of the skill and vigour of those who were at the head of affairs, and who devoted their best energies to regenerating the country which they ruled. But, for these special studies, special men are required; and I shall be satisfied, if I have firmly grasped the great march and outline of the whole. It is enough for my purpose, if I have sub-

stantiated the general proposition, and have convinced the reader of the clearness with which the statesmen of Spain discerned the evils under which their country was groaning, and of the zeal with which they set themselves to remedy the mischief, and to resuscitate the fortunes of what had once not only been the chief of European monarchies, but had borne sway over the most splendid and extensive territory that had been united under a single rule since the fall of the Roman Empire.

They who believe that a government can civilize a nation, and that legislators are the cause of social progress, will naturally expect that Spain reaped permanent benefit from those liberal maxims, which now, for the first time, were put into execution. The fact, however, is, that such a policy, wise as it appeared, was of no avail, simply because it ran counter to the whole train of preceding circumstances. It was opposed to the habits of the national mind, and was introduced into a state of society not yet ripe for it. No reform can produce real good, unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative. In Spain, during the eighteenth century, foreign influence, and the complications of foreign politics, bestowed enlightened rulers upon an unenlightened country.[320] The consequence was, that, for a time, great things were done. Evils were removed, grievances were redressed, many important improvements were introduced; and a spirit of toleration was exhibited, such as had never before been seen in that priest-ridden and superstitious land. But the mind of Spain was untouched. While the surface, and as it were the symptoms, of affairs were ameliorated, affairs themselves remained unchanged. Below that surface, and far out of reach of any political remedy, large general causes were at work, which had been operating for many centuries, and which were sure, sooner or later, to force politicians to retrace their steps, and compel them to inaugurate a policy which would suit the traditions of the country, and harmonize with the circumstances under which those traditions had been formed.

At length the reaction came. In 1788, Charles III. died; and was succeeded by Charles IV., a king of the true Spanish breed, devout, orthodox, and ignorant.[321] It was now seen

[320] It is important to observe, that the Cortes, where alone the voice of the people had a chance of being heard, was assembled but three times during the whole of the eighteenth century, and then merely for the sake of form. "Les Cortès ne se réunirent que trois fois pendant le dix-huitième siècle, et plutôt encore comme des solennités formulaires pour la prestation du serment aux princes héritiers de la couronne, que comme étant nécessaires pour de nouvelles lois et des contributions." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, Bourdeaux, 1815, p. 270.

[321] By combining these three qualities, he has deserved and received the cordial

how insecure every thing was, and how little reliance can be placed on reforms, which, instead of being suggested by the people, are bestowed on them by the political classes. Charles IV., though a weak and contemptible prince,[322] was so supported in his general views by the feelings of the Spanish nation, that, in less than five years, he was able completely to reverse that liberal policy which it had taken three generations of statesmen to build up. In less than five years, every thing was changed. The power of the Church was restored; the slightest approach towards free discussion was forbidden; old and arbitrary principles, which had not been heard of since the seventeenth century, were revived; the priests re-assumed their former importance; literary men were intimidated, and literature was discouraged; while the Inquisition, suddenly starting up afresh, displayed an energy which caused its enemies to tremble, and proved that all the attempts which had been made to weaken it, had been unable to impair its vigour, or to daunt its ancient spirit.

The ministers of Charles III., and the authors of those great reforms which signalized his reign, were dismissed, to make way for other advisers, better suited to this new state of things. Charles IV. loved the Church too well to tolerate the presence of enlightened statesmen. Aranda and Florida Blanca were both removed from office, and both were placed in confinement.[323] Jovellanos was banished from court, and Cabarrus was thrown into prison[324] For, now, work had to be done, to which these eminent men would not put their hands. A policy, which had been followed with undeviating consistency for nearly ninety years, was about to be rescinded, in order that the old empire of the seventeenth century, which was the empire of ignorance, of tyranny, and of superstition, might be resuscitated, and, if possible, restored to its pristine vigour.

Once more was Spain covered with darkness; once more did the shadows of night overtake that wretched land. The

approbation of the present Bishop of Barcelona, who, in his recent work on the Spanish Church, styles him "un monarca tan piadoso." *Observaciones sobre El Presente y El Porvenir de la Iglesia en España, por Domingo Costa y Borras*, Barcelona, 1857, p. 80.

[322] Even in *Alison's History of Europe*, where men of his character are usually made much of, he is treated with moderate disdain. "Charles IV. was not destitute of good qualities, but he was a weak, incapable prince." Vol. viii. p. 382, Edinburgh, 1849.

[323] *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. p. 167. I need hardly say, that not the slightest credit is to be attached to the account given in Godoy's Memoirs. Every one tolerably acquainted with Spanish history, will see that his book is an attempt to raise his own reputation, by defaming the character of some of the ablest and most high-minded of his contemporaries.

[324] *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278.

worst forms of oppression, says a distinguished writer, seemed to be settling on the country with a new and portentous weight.[325] At the same time, and indeed as a natural part of the scheme, every investigation likely to stimulate the mind, was prohibited, and an order was actually sent to all the universities, forbidding the study of moral philosophy; the minister, who issued the order, justly observing, that the king did not want to have philosophers.[326] There was, however, little fear of Spain producing any thing so dangerous. The nation not daring, and, what was still worse, not wishing, to resist, gave way, and let the king do as he liked. Within a very few years, he neutralized the most valuable reforms which his predecessors had introduced. Having discarded the able advisers of his father, he conferred the highest posts upon men as narrow and incompetent as himself; he reduced the country to the verge of bankruptcy; and, according to the remark of a Spanish historian, exhausted all the resources of the state.[327]

Such was the condition of Spain, late in the eighteenth century. The French invasion quickly followed; and that unhappy country underwent every form of calamity and of degradation. Herein, however, lies a difference. Calamities may be inflicted by others; but no people can be degraded except by their own acts. The foreign spoiler works mischief; he cannot cause shame. With nations, as with individuals, none are dishonoured if they are true to themselves. Spain, during the present century, has been plundered and oppressed, and the opprobrium lights on the robbers, not on the robbed. She has been overrun by a brutal and licentious soldiery; her fields laid waste, her towns sacked, her villages burned. It is to the criminal, rather than to the victim, that the ignominy of these acts must belong. And, even in a material point of view, such losses are sure to be retrieved, if the people who incur them are inured to those habits of self-government, and to that feeling of self-reliance, which are the spring and the source of all real greatness. With the aid of these, every damage may be repaired, and every evil remedied. Without them, the slightest blow may be fatal. In Spain, they are unknown; and it seems

[325] "In all its worst forms, therefore, oppression, civil, political, and religious, appeared to be settling down, with a new and portentous weight, on the whole country." *Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature*, vol. iii. p. 318.

[326] "Caballero, fearing the progress of all learning, which might disturb the peace of the Court, sent, not long since, a circular order to the universities, forbidding the study of moral philosophy. 'His Majesty,' it was said in the order, 'was not in want of philosophers, but of good and obedient subjects.'" *Doblado's Letters from Spain*, p. 358.

[327] "Le gouvernement de Charles IV. avait épuisé toutes les ressources de l'état." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, p. 323.

impossible to establish them. In that country, men have so long been accustomed to pay implicit deference to the Crown and the Church, that loyalty and superstitition have usurped the place of those nobler emotions, to which all freedom is owing, and in the absence of which, the true idea of independence can never be attained.

More than once, indeed, during the nineteenth century, a spirit has appeared, from which better things might have been augured. In 1812, in 1820, and in 1836, a few ardent and enthusiastic reformers attempted to secure liberty to the Spanish people, by endowing Spain with a free constitution. They succeeded for a moment, and that was all. The forms of constitutional government they could bestow; but they could not find the traditions and the habits, by which the forms are worked. They mimicked the voice of liberty; they copied her institutions; they aped her very gestures. And what then? At the first stroke of adverse fortune, their idol fell to pieces. Their constitutions were broken up, their assemblies dissolved, their enactments rescinded. The inevitable reaction quickly followed. After each disturbance, the hands of the government were strengthened, the principles of despotism were confirmed, and the Spanish liberals were taught to rue the day, in which they vainly endeavoured to impart freedom to their unhappy and ill-starred country.[328]

What makes these failures the more worthy of observation is, that the Spaniards did possess, at a very early period, municipal privileges and franchises, similar to those which we had in England, and to which our greatness is often ascribed. But such institutions, though they preserve freedom, can never create it. Spain had the form of liberty without its spirit; hence the form, promising as it was, soon died away. In England, the spirit preceded the form, and therefore the form was durable. Thus it is, that, though the Spaniards could boast of free institutions a century before ourselves, they were unable to retain

[328] In Spain, the voice of the people has always been opposed to the liberal party, as many writers have observed, without being aware of the reason. Mr. Walton (*Revolutions of Spain*, London, 1837, vol. i. pp. 322, 323) says of the Cortes, "Public indignation hurled them from their seats in 1814; and in 1823 they were overpowered, not by the arms of France, but by the displeasure of their own countrymen," &c. See also p. 290; and *Quin's Memoirs of Ferdinand the Seventh*, London, 1824, p. 121, where it is mentioned, that "in all the towns through which the King passed, the multitude, excited by the friars and clergy, overturned the constitutional stone, and uttered the most atrocious insults against the Constitution, the Cortes, and the Liberals." Compare *Sempere*, *Histoire des Cortès*, p. 335, and *Bacon's Six Years in Biscay*, p. 40. Indeed, a very intelligent writer on Spanish affairs in 1855, asserts, with, I believe, perfect truth, that Spain is "un pays où les populations sont toujours à coup sûr moins libérales que les governemens." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1854, 1855, Paris, 1855, p. 266.

them, simply because they had the institutions and nothing more. We had no popular representation till 1264;[329] but in Castile, they had it in 1169,[330] and in Aragon in 1133.[331] So, too, while the earliest charter was granted to an English town in the twelfth century,[332] we find, in Spain, a charter conferred on Leon as early as 1020; and in the course of the eleventh century the enfranchisement of towns was as secure as laws could make it.[333]

The fact, however, is, that in Spain these institutions, instead of growing out of the wants of the people, originated in a stroke of policy on the part of their rulers. They were conceded to the citizens, rather than desired by them. For, during the war with the Mohammedans, the Christian kings of Spain, as they advanced southwards, were naturally anxious to induce their subjects to settle in the frontier towns, where they might face and repel the enemy. With this object, they granted charters to the towns, and privileges to the inhabitants.[334] And as the Mohammedans were gradually beaten back from the Asturias to Granada, the frontiers changed, and the franchises were extended to the new conquests, in order that what was the post of danger, might also be the place of reward. But, meanwhile, those general causes, which I have indicated, were predetermining the nation to habits of loyalty and of superstition, which grew to a height fatal to the spirit of liberty. That being the case, the institutions were of no avail. They took no root; and as they were originated by one political combination, they were destroyed by another. Before the close of the fourteenth century, the Spaniards were so firmly seated in the territories they had lately acquired, that there was little danger of their being again expelled;[335] while, on the other hand, there was no imme-

[329] *Buckle's History of Civilization*, vol. i. p. 446.

[330] *Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. p. xlviii.

[331] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. xcvi.

[332] *Hallam's Middle Ages*, ninth edition, London, 1846, vol. ii. pp. 153-157, which must be compared with *Hallam's Supplemental Notes*, London, 1848, pp. 323-327.

[333] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 373. *Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i. pp. xlv. xlvi.

[334] "Ce fut alors que les successeurs de Pélage descendirent de leurs montagnes dans les plaines, de leurs forteresses perchées sur des rocs inaccessibles dans les villes populeuses, le long des fleuves, dans de fertiles vallées et sur les côtes de la mer; ce fut alors que la ville d'Astorgue revint du pouvoir des Arabes à celui des Asturiens et chassa toute la partie musulmane de ses habitants; ce fut alors, enfin, que commencèrent en Espagne ces concessions de franchises municipales par lesquelles les rois et les seigneurs chrétiens cherchèrent à attirer des populations chrétiennes dans les lieux d'où ils avaient chassé les Musulmans." *Fauriel, Histoire de la Gaule Méridionale*, Paris, 1836, vol. iii. p. 215. See also *Sempere, Monarchie Espagnole*, vol. ii. pp. 256, 257.

[335] On the increasing confidence of the Spaniards in the middle of the fourteenth century, see an interesting passage in *Mariana, Historia de España*, vol. iv. pp. 172, 173.

diate prospect of their being able to push their conquests further, and drive the Mohammedans from the strongholds of Granada. The circumstances, therefore, which gave rise to the municipal privileges had changed; and as soon as this was apparent, the privileges began to perish. Being unsuited to the habits of the people, they were sure to fall, on the first opportunity.[336] Late in the fourteenth century, their decline was perceptible; by the close of the fifteenth century, they were almost extinct; and, early in the sixteenth century, they were finally overthrown.[337]

It is thus that general causes eventually triumph over every obstacle. In the average of affairs, and on a comparison of long periods, they are irresistible. Their operation is often attacked, and occasionally, for a little time, stopped by politicians, who are always ready with their empirical and short-sighted remedies. But when the spirit of the age is against those remedies, they can at best only succeed for a moment; and after that moment has passed, a reaction sets in, and the penalty for violence has to be paid. Evidence of this will be found in the annals of every civilized country, by whoever will confront the history of legislation with the history of opinion. The fate of the Spanish towns has afforded us one good proof; the fate of the Spanish Church will supply us with another. For more than eighty years after the death of Charles II. the rulers of Spain attempted to weaken the ecclesiastical power; and the end of all their efforts was, that even such an insignificant and

[336] The deputies of the towns did, in fact, eventually overthrow their own liberties, as a Spanish historian truly remarks. "Il n'est pas étonnant que les Monarques espagnols tâchassent d'affermir leur autorité autant que possible, et encore moins que leurs conseillers et leurs ministres coopérassent à leurs desseins. L'histoire de toutes les nations nous offre de nombreux exemples de cette politique; mais *ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans celle d'Espagne, c'est que les députés des villes qui auraient dû être les plus zélés défenseurs de leurs droits, conspirèrent ouvertement contre le tiers-état*, et tentèrent d'anéantir les restes de l'ancienne représentation nationale." *Sempere, Histoire des Cortès d'Espagne*, p. 213. It strikes one as singular, that M. Sempere should never have inquired, why this happened in Spain, and not elsewhere. A later writer, reflecting on the destruction of the municipal element by the royal authority, gives a solution, which, like many other so-called solutions, is merely a statement of the same fact in different words. "Al fin la autoridad real logró alcanzar un gran predominio en el gobierno municipal de los pueblos, *porque* los corregidores y alcaldes mayores llegaron á eclipsar la influencia de los adelantados y alcaldes elegidos por los pueblos." *Antequera, Historia di la Legislacion Española*, Madrid, 1849, p. 287. This, instead of explaining the event, is simply narrating it afresh.

[337] The final destruction of popular liberty is ascribed by many writers to the battle of Villalar, in 1521; though it is quite certain that, if the royalists had lost that battle, instead of gaining it, the ultimate result would have been the same. At one time, I had purposed tracing the history of the municipal and representative elements during the fifteenth century; and the materials which I then collected, convinced me that the spirit of freedom never really existed in Spain, and that therefore the marks and forms of freedom were sure, sooner or later, to be effaced.

incompetent king as Charles IV. was able, with the greatest ease, rapidly to undo what they had done. This is because, during the eighteenth century, while the clergy were assailed by law, they were favoured by opinion. The opinions of a people invariably depend on large general causes, which influence the whole country; but their laws are too often the work of a few powerful individuals, in opposition to the national will. When the legislators die, or lose office, there is always a chance of their successors holding opposite views, and subverting their plans. In the midst, however, of this play and fluctuation of political life, the general causes remain steady, though they are often kept out of sight, and do not become visible, until politicians, inclining to their side, bring them to the surface, and invest them with open and public authority.

This is what Charles IV. did in Spain; and when he took measures to favour the Church, and to discourage free inquiry, he merely sanctioned those national habits which his predecessors had disregarded. The hold which the hierarchy of that country possess over public opinion, has always been proverbial; but it is even greater than is commonly supposed. What it was in the seventeenth century, we have already seen; and in the eighteenth century, there were no signs of its diminution, except among a few bold men, who could effect nothing, while the popular voice was so strong against them. Early in the reign of Philip V., Labat, who travelled in Spain, informs us, that when a priest performed mass, nobles of the highest rank deemed it an honour to help him to dress, and that they would go down on their knees to him, and kiss his hands.[338] When this was done by the proudest aristocracy in Europe, we may suppose what the general feeling must have been. Indeed Labat assures us, that a Spaniard would hardly be considered of sound faith, if he did not leave some portion of his property to the Church; so completely had respect for the hierarchy become an essential part of the national character.[339]

A still more curious instance was exhibited on the occasion

[338] "Ceux qui servent la Messe en Espagne, soit Religieux, ou Seculiers, ne manquent jamais d'aider le Prêtre à s'habiller, et le font avec beaucoup de respect. Les plus grands Seigneurs s'en font honneur, et à mesure qu'ils présentent au Prêtre quelque partie des ornemens, ils lui baisent la main. On se met à genoux pour donner à laver au Prêtre pendant la Messe, et après qu'il a essuyé ses doigts, celui qui lui a donné l'eau demeurant à genoux lui présente le bassin retourné, sur lequel le Prêtre met sa main pour la lui laisser baiser. Au retour à la Sacristie, il ne manque pas d'aider le Prêtre à se déshabiller, après quoi il se met à genoux pour recevoir sa bénédiction, et baiser sa main." *Labat, Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, Paris, 1730, vol. i. p. 36.

[339] "Telle est la coûtume du Païs, on s'exposeroit à laisser douter de sa foi, et passer au moins pour Maran, ou Chrétien nouveau, si on ne laissoit pas le tiers de ses biens mobiliers à l'Eglise." *Labat, Voyages en Espagne*, vol. i. p. 268.

of the expulsion of the Jesuits. That once useful, but now troublesome, body was, during the eighteenth century, what it is in the nineteenth—the obstinate enemy of progress and of toleration. The rulers of Spain, observing that it opposed all their schemes of reform, resolved to get rid of an obstacle, which met them at every turn. In France, the Jesuits had just been treated as a public nuisance, and suppressed at a blow, and without difficulty. The advisers of Charles III. saw no reason why so salutary a measure should not be imitated in their country; and, in 1767, they, following the example which had been set by the French in 1764, abolished this great mainstay of the Church.[340] Having done this, the government supposed that it had taken a decisive step towards weakening ecclesiastical power, particularly as the sovereign cordially approved of the proceeding. The year after this occurred, Charles III., according to his custom, appeared in the balcony of the palace, on the festival of Saint Charles, ready to grant any request which the people might make to him, and which usually consisted of a prayer for the dismissal of a minister, or for the repeal of a tax. On this occasion, however, the citizens of Madrid, instead of occupying themselves with such worldly matters, felt that still dearer interests were in peril; and, to the surprise and terror of the court, they demanded, with one voice, that the Jesuits should be allowed to return, and wear their usual dress, in order that Spain might be gladdened by the sight of these holy men.[341]

[340] It was the opinion of the Pope, that Charles, by this act, had endangered his own soul. "Dans un bref adressé à Charles III., il déclara: 'Que les actes du Roi contre les Jésuites mettaient évidemment son salut en danger.'" *Crétineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, 1845, vol. v. p. 302.

[341] As this circumstance, which is noticed by Crétineau-Joly (*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. v. p. 311) and other writers (*Dunham's History of Spain*, vol. v. p. 180), has been much misrepresented, and has even been doubted by one author, I will transcribe the statement of Coxe, whose information respecting the reign of Charles III. was derived from eye-witnesses. "A remarkable and alarming proof of their influence was given at Madrid, the year after their expulsion. At the festival of St. Charles, when the monarch showed himself to the people from the balcony of the palace, and was accustomed to grant their general request; to the surprise and confusion of the whole Court, the voice of the immense multitude, with one accord, demanded the return of the Jesuits, and the permission for them to wear the habit of the secular clergy. This unexpected incident alarmed and mortified the King; and, after a vigilant inquiry, he thought proper to banish the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and his Grand Vicar, as the secret instigators of this tumultuary petition." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, 2d edit., London, 1815, vol. iv. pp. 368, 369. The remarks made on this event by M. Rio (*Historia del Reinado de Carlos III.*, Madrid, 1856, vol. ii. pp. 197-199) are not very creditable, either to his criticism or to his candour. It is uncritical to doubt the statement of a contemporary, when that statement relates what is probable in itself, and what those who lived nearest to the period never denied. Indeed, so far from denying it, M. Muriel, the learned translator of Coxe's work into Spanish, gave it the sanction of his name. And, it is surely, to say the least, very uncandid on the part of M. Rio to impute to Coxe the error of placing this occurrence in 1767, and then proving that, owing to circum-

What can you do with a nation like this? What is the use of laws, when the current of public opinion thus sets in against them? In the face of such obstacles, the government of Charles III., notwithstanding its good intentions, was powerless. Indeed, it was worse than powerless: it did harm; for, by rousing popular sympathy in favour of the Church, it strengthened what it sought to weaken. On that cruel and persecuting Church, stained as it was with every sort of crime, the Spanish nation continued to bestow marks of affection, which, instead of being diminished, were increased. Gifts and legacies flowed in freely and from every side; men being willing to beggar themselves and their families, in order to swell the general contribution. And to such a height was this carried, that, in 1788, Florida Blanca, minister of the crown, stated, that within the last fifty years, the ecclesiastical revenues had increased so rapidly, that many of them had doubled in value.[342]

Even the Inquisition, the most barbarous institution which the wit of man has ever devised, was upheld by public opinion against the attacks of the crown. The Spanish government wished to overthrow it, and did every thing to weaken it; but the Spanish people loved it as of old, and cherished it as their best protection against the inroads of heresy.[343] An illustration

stances connected with the Archbishop of Toledo, it could not have happened in that year. For, Coxe distinctly asserts that it was in 1768; "the year *after* their expulsion."

[342] See the statement of Florida Blanca, in Appendix I. to *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. v. p. 282. Another Spaniard, the Prince of the Peace, says, that at the accession of Charles IV., in 1788, "the cloisters were encumbered with an ever-increasing number of monks of all orders and of all ages." *Godoy's Memoirs*, edit. London, 1836, vol. i. p. 126. See also, on the state of ecclesiastical establishments in the same year, some interesting remarks in the Letters of Cabarrus; "con qué horrible desproporcion superabundan los individuos estériles á los operarios útiles y preciosos." *Cartas escritas por el Conde de Cabarrus*, Madrid, 1813, p. 133.

[343] Of it, a celebrated writer in the reign of Philip V. boastfully says, "Su exacta vigilancia comprehende igualmente á Naturales y Estrangeros." *Uztariz, Theorica y Practica de Comercio*, tercera impression, Madrid, 1757, folio, p. 27. When such a man as Uztariz could pen a sentence like this, we may imagine what was felt by the people, who were far more ignorant than he, and far more orthodox. M. Tapia, in a remarkable and unusually bold passage, frankly admits that it was the pressure of public opinion which prevented Charles III. from abolishing the Inquisition. "Estraño pareceria que habiéndose hecho tanto en aquel reinado para limitar el poder escesivo del clero, y acabar con absurdas preocupaciones, no se suprimiese el monstruoso tribunal de la inquisicion; pero es necesario tener presente quel el rey despues del motin de Madrid procedia con timidez en toda providencia que pudiese contrariar la opinion pública; y él creia que los españoles querian la inquisicion, como se lo manifestó al ministro Roda y al conde de Aranda, añadiendo que en nada coartaba su autoridad." *Tapia, Civilizacion Española*, vol. iv. p. 98, Madrid, 1840. To us, the Inquisition seems rather a singular object for men to set their affections on; but of the existence of the passion there can be no doubt. "L'Inquisition si révérée en Espagne." *Mémoires de Louville*, vol. i. p. 36. And Geddes (*Tracts*, London, 1730, vol. i. p. 400) tells us that "the Inquisition is not only established by law, but by a wonderful fascination is so fixed in the hearts and affections of the people, that one that should offer the least affront to another, for having been an informer or witness in the Inquisition, would be torn in a thousand pieces."

of this was exhibited in 1778, when, on occasion of a heretic being sentenced by the Inquisition, several of the leading nobles attended as servants, being glad to have an opportunity of publicly displaying their obedience and docility to the Church.[344]

All these things were natural, and in order. They were the result of a long train of causes, the operation of which I have endeavoured to trace, during thirteen centuries, since the outbreak of the Arian war. Those causes forced the Spaniards to be superstitious, and it was idle mockery to seek to change their nature by legislation. The only remedy for superstition is knowledge. Nothing else can wipe out that plague-spot of the human mind. Without it, the leper remains unwashed, and the slave unfreed. It is to a knowledge of the laws and relations of things, that European civilization is owing; but it is precisely this in which Spain has always been deficient. And until that deficiency is remedied, until science, with her bold and inquisitive spirit, has established her right to investigate all subjects, after her own fashion, and according to her own method, we may be assured that, in Spain, neither literature, nor universities, nor legislators, nor reformers of any kind, will ever be able to rescue the people from that helpless and benighted condition into which the course of affairs has plunged them.

That no great political improvement, however plausible or attractive it may appear, can be productive of lasting benefit, unless it is preceded by a change in public opinion, and that every change of public opinion is preceded by changes in knowledge, are propositions which all history verifies, but which are particularly obvious in the history of Spain. The Spaniards have had every thing except knowledge. They have had immense wealth, and fertile and well-peopled territories, in all parts of the globe. Their own country, washed by the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and possessed of excellent harbours, is admirably situated for the purposes of trade between Europe and America, being so placed as to command the commerce of both hemispheres.[345] They had, at a very early period, ample municipal privileges; they had independent parliaments; they had the right of choosing their own magistrates, aud managing their own cities. They have had rich and flourishing towns,

[344] "The familiars of the Inquisition, Abrantes, Mora, and others, grandees of Spain, attended as servants, without hats or swords." *Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iv. pp. 418, 419. This was in the great case of Olavide.

[345] An accomplished modern geographer says: "From the extent of its coast-line, its numerous ports, its geographical position, and natural products, Spain possesses greater commercial advantages than any other country of Europe." *Johnston's Dictionary of Physical, Statistical, and Historical Geography*, London, 1850, p. 1213.

abundant manufactures, and skilful artizans, whose choice productions could secure a ready sale in every market in the world. They have cultivated the fine arts, with eminent success; their noble and exquisite paintings, and their magnificent churches, being justly ranked among the most wonderful efforts of the human hand. They speak a beautiful, sonorous, and flexible language, and their literature is not unworthy of their language. Their soil yields treasures of every kind. It overflows with wine and oil, and produces the choicest fruits in an almost tropical exuberance.[346] It contains the most valuable minerals, in a profuse variety unexampled in any other part of Europe. Nowhere else do we find such rare and costly marbles, so easily accessible, and in such close communication with the sea, where they might safely be shipped, and sent to countries which require them.[347] As to the metals, there is hardly one which Spain does not possess in large quantities. Her mines of silver and of quicksilver are well known. She abounds in copper,[348] and her supply of lead is enormous.[349] Iron and coal, the two most useful of all the productions of the inorganic world,[350] are also abundant in that highly favoured country. Iron is said to exist in every part of Spain, and to be of the best quality;[351] while the coal-mines of Asturias are described as inexhaus-

[346] "No quiero hablar de los frutos de España, no obstante que los produzca tan exquisitos de todas especies. Solo diré que sus naranjas dulces las traxeron de la China los Portugueses, y que de Portugal se ha difundido su planta por lo restante de Europa. En fin, España es celebrada entre otras cosas por sus limones, por la fragancia de sus cidras, por sus limas dulces, por sus granadas, por sus azeytunas, que merecieron ser alabadas hasta del gran Ciceron, y sus almendras, sus higos, sus uvas, etc." *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Madrid, 1789, 4to, p. 236.

[347] "The marbles of Spain are in greater variety and beauty than those of any country in Europe, and most valuable kinds of them are in situations of easy access and communication with the sea; but they have long been entirely neglected, the greater part being unknown, even to the more intelligent of the natives." *Cook's Spain*, London, 1834, vol. ii. p. 51. In the Cabinet of Natural History at Madrid, "the specimens of marbles are splendid, and show what treasures yet remain buried in the Peninsula." *Ford's Spain*, London, 1847, p. 413.

[348] "Hay infinitas minas de cobre en España las quales nunca se han tocado." *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, Discurso Preliminar, p. 34.

[349] In 1832, Cook writes, "The lead-mines of the Sierra de Gador are in a state of repletion at present from the enormous quantity of the mineral, and the facility of raising it." . . . . "Lead abounds in other parts of the same chain, nearer to Almeria." *Cook's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 75. "The most valuable of the existing Spanish mines are those of lead in Granada; and the supplies obtained from them during the last twenty years have been so large, that they have occasioned the abandonment of several less productive mines in other countries, and a considerable fall in the price of lead." *M'Culloch's Geographical and Statistical Dictionary*, London, 1849, vol. ii. p. 705.

[350] I use the popular language in referring coal to the inorganic world, despite its cellular tissue and vegetable origin.

[351] "The most valuable of the whole mineral riches of Spain will be in all probability, in a few years, the iron, which is found everywhere, and of the best qualities." *Cook's Spain*, vol. ii. p. 78. See also *Bowles, Historia Natural de España*, pp. 56, 67, 106, 273, 346, 415, and *Ford's Spain*, pp. 565, 618.

tible.[352] In short, nature has been so prodigal of her bounty, that it has been observed, with hardly an hyperbole, that the Spanish nation possesses within itself nearly every natural production which can satisfy either the necessity or the curiosity of mankind.[353]

These are splendid gifts; it is for the historian to tell how they have been used. Certainly, the people who possess them have never been deficient in natural endowments. They have had their full share of great statesmen, great kings, great magistrates, and great legislators. They have had many able and vigorous rulers; and their history is ennobled by the frequent appearance of courageous and disinterested patriots, who have sacrificed their all, that they might help their country. The bravery of the people has never been disputed; while, as to the upper classes, the punctilious honour of a Spanish gentleman has passed into a bye-word, and circulated through the world. Of the nation generally, the best observers pronounce them to be high-minded, generous, truthful, full of integrity, warm and zealous friends, affectionate in all the private relations of life, frank, charitable, and humane.[354] Their sincerity in

[352] "The quantity is inexhaustible, the quality excellent, the working of extraordinary facility, and they possess an easy communication with the sea; yet they are practically useless, and afford only a miserable existence to a few labourers and mules used in conveying the mineral to Gijon." *Cook's Spain*, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80. "In the immediate neighbourhood of Oviedo are some of the largest coal-fields in Europe." *Ford's Spain*, p. 381; compare pp. 392, 606.

[353] "La nacion española posee casi quantas producciones naturales puede apetecer la necesidad, ó curiosidad de los hombres." *Campomanes, Apéndice á la Educacion Popular*, vol. iv. p. vi., Madrid, 1777.

[354] "Ils sont fort charitables, tant à cause du mérite que l'on s'acquiert par les aumônes, que par l'inclination naturelle qu'ils ont à donner, et la peine effective qu'ils souffirent lorsqu'ils sont obligés, soit par leur pauvreté, soit par quelqu'autre raison, de refuser ce qu'on leur demande. Ils ont encore la bonne qualité de ne point abandonner leurs amis pendant qu'ils sont malades." . . . . "De manière que des personnes qui ne se voyent point quatre fois en un an, se voyent tous les jours deux ou trois fois, dès qu'ils souffrent." *D'Aulnoy, Relation du Voyage d'Espagne*, Lyon, 1693, vol. ii. p. 374. "They are grave, temperate, and sober; firm and warm in their friendships, though cautious and slow in contracting them." *A Tour through Spain by Udal ap Rhys*, second edition, London, 1760, p. 3. "When they have once professed it, none are more faithful friends." . . . . "They have great probity and integrity of principle." *Clarke's Letters concerning the Spanish Nation*, London, 1763, 4to, p. 334. "To express all that I feel, on the recollection of their goodness, would appear like adulation; but I may venture at least to say, that simplicity, sincerity, generosity, a high sense of dignity, and strong principles of honour, are the most prominent and striking features of the Spanish character." *Townsend's Journey through Spain*, second edition, London, 1792, vol. iii. p. 353. "The Spaniards, though naturally deep and artful politicians, have still something so nobly frank and honest in their disposition." *Letters from Spain by an English Officer*, London, 1788, vol. ii. p. 171. "The Spaniards have fewer bad qualities than any other people that I have had the opportunity to know." *Croker's Travels through Spain*, London, 1799, pp. 237, 238. "Spanish probity is proverbial, and it conspicuously shines in commercial relations." *Laborde's Spain*, London, 1809, vol. iv. p. 423. "Certainly, if it be taken in the mass, no people are more humane than

religious matters is unquestionable;[355] they are, moreover, eminently temperate and frugal.[356] Yet all these great qualities have availed them nothing, and will avail them nothing, so long as they remain ignorant. What the end of all this will be, and whether in their unhappy country the right path will ever be taken, is impossible for any one to say.[357] But if it is not taken, no amelioration which can possibly be effected will penetrate below the surface. The sole course is, to weaken the superstition of the people; and this can only be done by that march of physical science, which, familiarizing men with conceptions of order and of regularity, gradually encroaches on the old notions of perturbation, of prodigy, and of miracle, and by this means accustoms the mind to explain the vicissitudes of affairs by natural considerations, instead of, as heretofore, by those which are purely supernatural.

the Spaniards, or more compassionate and kind in their feelings to others. They probably excel other nations, rather than fall below them, in this respect." *Cook's Spain*, London, 1834, vol. i. p. 189. "The Spaniards are kind-hearted in all the relations of life." *Hoskins' Spain*, London, 1851, vol. ii. p. 58. Finally, I will adduce the testimony of two professional politicians, both of whom were well acquainted with the Spaniards. In 1770, Mr. Harris, afterwards Lord Malmesbury, writes, "They are brave, honest, and generous." *Diaries and Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury*, London, 1844, vol. i. p. 48. And Lord Holland, according to Moore, deemed "that the Spaniards altogether are amongst the best people of Europe." *Moore's Memoirs, edited by Lord John Russell*, vol. iii. p. 253, London, 1853.

[355] This their whole history decisively proves; and as to their more recent state, the author of *Revelations of Spain in* 1845, vol. i. p. 340, says: "But religion is so deeply rooted in the national character, that the most furious political storms, which prostrate every thing else, blow over this and leave it unscathed. It is only amongst the educated male population that any lack of fervour is witnessed."

[356] "The habitual temperance of these people is really astonishing: I never saw a Spaniard drink a second glass of wine. With the lower order of people, a piece of bread with an apple, an onion, or pomegranate, is their usual repast." *Croker's Travels in Spain*, London, 1799, p. 116. "They are temperate, or rather abstemious, in their living to a great degree: *borracho* is the highest term of reproach; and it is rare to see a drunken man, except it be among the carriers or muleteers." *Dalrymple's Travels through Spain*, London, 1777, 4to, p. 174. "Drunkenness is a vice almost unknown in Spain among people of a respectable class, and very uncommon even among the lower orders." Esménard's note in *Godoy's Memoirs*, London, 1836, vol. ii. p. 321.

[357] "This is the most wonderful country under the sun; for here, intellect wields no power." *Inglis' Spain*, London, 1831, vol. i. p. 101. "Tandis que l'activité publique, en Espagne, se porte depuis quelques années dans la sphère des intérêts pratiques et matériels, il semble, au contraire, qu'il y ait une sorte de ralentissement dans la vie intellectuelle." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes for* 1850, p. 410. "La vie intellectuelle n'est point malheureusement la sphère où se manifeste le plus d'activité en Espagne." *Ibid. for* 1856-1857, p. 356. Now, listen to the practical consequences of not giving free and fearless scope to the intellect. "It is singular, upon landing in the Peninsula, and making a short excursion for a few miles in any direction, to see reproduced the manners of England *five centuries back*—to find yourself thrown into the midst of a society which is a close counterpart of that *extinct semi-civilization* of which no trace is to be found in our history later than the close of the fourteenth century and the reign of Richard the Second." *Revelations of Spain in* 1845 *by an English Resident*, vol. ii. p. 1.

To this, in the most advanced countries of Europe, every thing has been tending for nearly three centuries. But in Spain, unfortunately, education has always remained, and still remains, in the hands of the clergy, who steadily oppose that progress of knowledge, which they are well aware would be fatal to their own power.[358] The people, therefore, resting ignorant, and the causes which kept them in ignorance continuing, it avails the country nothing, that, from time to time, enlightened rulers have come forward, and liberal measures been adopted. The Spanish reformers have, with rare exceptions, eagerly attacked the Church, whose authority they clearly saw ought to be diminished. But what they did not see is, that such diminution can be of no real use unless it is the result of public opinion urging on politicians to the work. In Spain, politicians took the initiative, and the people lagged behind. Hence, in Spain, what was done at one time was sure to be undone at another. When the liberals were in power, they suppressed the Inquisition; but Ferdinand VII. easily restored it, because, though it had been destroyed by Spanish legislators, its existence was suited to the habits and traditions of the Spanish nation.[359] Fresh changes

[358] "That the Spaniards, as a people, are ignorant, supremely ignorant, it is impossible to dissemble; but this comes from the control of education being altogether in the hands of the clergy, who exert themselves to maintain that ignorance to which they are indebted for their power." *Spain by an American*, vol. ii. p. 360. "The schools in Madrid are all conducted by Jesuits; and the education received in them, is such as might be expected from their heads." *Inglis' Spain*, vol. i. p. 156. "Private education here, is almost entirely in the hands of the clergy." *Revelations of Spain in* 1845, vol. ii. p. 27. In Spain, as in all countries, Catholic or Protestant, the clergy, considered as a body, inculcate belief instead of inquiry, and, by a sort of conservative instinct, discourage that boldness of investigation without which there can be no real knowledge, although there may be much erudition and mere book-learning. In Spain, the clergy are stronger than in any other country; therefore in Spain they display this tendency more fearlessly. A good instance of this may be seen in a work lately published by the Bishop of Barcelona, in which a violent attack upon all physical and philosophical knowledge is concluded in the following terms: "No intento recriminar á ningun católico de los que se asocian al nuevo sistema de filosofar y de extender indefinidamente el imperio de esta ciencia, pero deseo que fijen toda su atencion en los puntos que no haré sino indicar. Primero, que las escuelas de Holanda, Alemania, Inglaterra y Francia desafectas al Catolicismo, han iniciado y promovido con el mayor empeño ciertas discusiones filosóficas, presentándolas como un triunfo de la razon sobre la Religion, de la filosofía sobre la teología, del materialismo sobre el espiritualismo. Segundo, que sus máximas no son, en gran parte, mas que reproducciones ó nuevas evoluciones de errores mil veces refutados y condenados por la sana filosofía y por la Iglesia; bajo cuyo concepto no tienen por qué felicitarse en razon de su progreso, sino mas bien avergonzarse por su retroceso." *Costa y Borras, Iglesia en España*, Barcelona, 1857, p. 150.

[359] "Immediately after his arrival in Madrid, Ferdinand re-established the Inquisition; and his decree for that purpose was hailed throughout all Spain with illuminations, thanksgivings, and other rejoicings." *Quin's Memoirs of Ferdinand VII.*, London, 1824, pp. 189, 190. This and similar acts gave such delight to the Church as well as to the people, that, according to a great divine, the return of Ferdinand to Spain is to be deemed the immediate act of Divine Providence, watch-

occurring, this odious tribunal was, in 1820, again abolished. Still, though its form is gone, its spirit lives.[360] The name, the body, and the visible appearance of the Inquisition are no more; but the spirit which generated the Inquisition is enshrined in the hearts of the people, and, on slight provocation, would burst forth, and reinstate an institution which is the effect, far more than the cause, of the intolerant bigotry of the Spanish nation.

In the same way, other and more systematic attacks which were made on the Church, during the present century, succeeded at first, but were sure to be eventually baffled.[361] Under Joseph, in 1809, the monastic orders were suppressed, and their property was confiscated.[362] Little, however, did Spain gain by this. The nation was on their side;[363] and as soon as the storm passed away, they were restored. In 1836, there was another political movement, and the liberals being at the head of affairs, Mendizabal secularized all the Church property, and deprived the clergy of nearly the whole of their enormous and ill-gotten wealth.[364] He did not know how foolish it is to attack an insti-

ing over the interests of Spain. "La divina Providencia abrevió los dias de prueba, y la católica España respiró ceñida con los laureles del triunfo, recobrando luego á su tan deseado monarca, el señor rey don Fernando VII." *Costa y Borras, Observaciones sobre la Iglesia en España*, Barcelona, 1857, p 91.

[360] "The spirit of the Inquisition is still alive; for no king, cortes, or constitution, ever permits in Spain any approach to any religious toleration." *Ford's Spain*, London, 1847, p. 60. "Les cortès auraient beau permettre l'exercice du culte protestant ou juif, il n'est point certain que cela ne suscitât de périlleux conflits." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes, ou Histoire Générale des Divers Etats*, 1854-1855, vol. v. p. 272, Paris, 1855; a work of considerable ability, planned on the same scheme as the *Annual Register*, but far superior to it. Respecting the chance of the Inquisition being again restored, compare two interesting passages in *Spain by an American*, 1831, vol. ii. p. 330, and *Inglis' Spain*, 1831, vol. i. p. 85. Since then, the balance of affairs has, on the whole, been in favour of the Church, which received a further accession of strength by the success of the essentially religious war recently waged against the Moors. Hence, if any fresh political catastrophe were to occur in Spain, I should not be at all surprised to hear that the Inquisition was reëstablished.

[361] Compare some very sensible remarks in *Bacon's Six Years in Biscay*, London, 1838, pp. 40, 41, 50, with *Quin's Memoirs of Ferdinand the Seventh*, pp. 192, 193.

[362] *Walton's Revolutions of Spain*, London, 1837, vol. ii. p. 343.

[363] Very shortly before the suppression of the monastic orders, "Le respect pour le froc en général est poussé si loin, qu'on lui attribue une vertue préservative, même au-delà de la vie, quelque peu régulière qu'elle ait été. Aussi n'y a-t-il rien de si commun que de voir les morts ensevelis en robe de moines, et conduits ainsi à leur dernière demeure à visage découvert." . . . . "De même que le froc accompagne les Espagnols au tombeau, de même il en saisit quelques-uns au sortir du berceau. Il n'est pas rare de rencontrer de petits moines de quatre à cinq ans polissonnant dans la rue." *Bourgoing, Tableau de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1808, vol. ii. pp. 330, 331.

[364] The confiscation took place at different periods between 1835 and 1841. Compare *Ford's Spain*, p. 48. *Relations of Spain by an English Resident*, vol. i. p. 366. *Costa y Borras, Iglesia en España*, p. 95. *Annuaire des Deux Mondes for* 1850, Paris, 1851, p. 369. I have sought in vain for any detailed history of these transactions.

tution, unless you can first lessen its influence. Overrating the power of legislation, he underrated the power of opinion. This, the result clearly showed. Within a very few years, the reaction began. In 1845, was enacted what was called the law of devolution, by which the first step was taken towards the re-endowment of the clergy.[365] In 1851, their position was still further improved by the celebrated Concordat, in which the right of acquiring, as well as of possessing, was solemnly confirmed to them.[366] With all this, the nation heartily concurred.[367] Such, however, was the madness of the liberal party, that, only four years afterwards, when they for a moment obtained power, they forcibly annulled these arrangements, and revoked concessions which had been made to the Church, and which, unhappily for Spain, public opinion had ratified.[368] The results might have been easily foreseen. In Aragon and in other parts of Spain, the people flew to arms; a Carlist insurrection broke out, and a cry ran through the country, that religion was in danger.[369] It is impossible to benefit such a nation as this. The reformers were, of course, overthrown, and by the autumn of 1856 their party was broken up. The political reaction now began, and advanced so rapidly, that, by the spring of 1857, the policy of the two preceding years was completely reversed. Those who idly thought that they could regenerate their country by laws,

[365] "Dès 1845, une loi dite de *dévolution*, en attendant un règlement définitif, applique à la dotation du clergé une portion des biens ecclésiastiques non vendus." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1851-2, Paris, 1852, p. 318.

[366] "Il y a ici un règlement solennel, sous la forme d'un traité, de toutes les affaires relatives à l'église; c'est le concordat de 1851. Le concordat reconnaît à l'église le droit d'acquérir et de posséder." *Ibid.*, 1854, 1855, p. 273, Paris, 1855.

[367] The very year in which the Concordat became law, Mr. Hoskins, the well-known traveller in Africa, a gentleman evidently of considerable intelligence, published, on his return from Spain, an account of that country. His work is valuable, as showing the state of public feeling just before the Concordat, and while the Spanish clergy were still suffering from the well-intentioned, but grossly injudicious acts of the liberal party. "We visited these churches on a Sunday, and were surprised to find them all crowded to excess. The incomes of the clergy are greatly reduced, but their fortunes are gradually reviving." *Hoskins' Spain*, London, 1851, vol. i. p. 25. "The priests are slowly re-establishing their power in Spain." vol. ii. p. 201. "The crowded churches, and, notwithstanding the appropriation of their revenues, the absence of all appearance of any thing like poverty in the chapels and services, prove that the Spaniards are now as devout worshippers, and as zealous friends of the Church, as they were in her palmy days." vol. ii. p. 281.

[368] "La loi de désamortissement promulguée le 1er mai, 1855, ordonne, comme on sait, la mise en vente de tous les biens de main-morte, et en particulier des biens qui restent encore à l'église." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1855, 1856, p. 310. See also *Annuaire*, 1854, 1855, p. 274. For an account of other steps taken against the Church in the spring and summer of 1855, see *Costa y Borras*, *Observaciones sobre la Iglesia en España*, Barcelona, 1857, pp. 119, 286, 292; and respecting the law of the 1st of May, see p. 247.

[369] "Aussi le premier mot d'ordre de l'insurrection a été la défense de la religion." *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1854, 1855, p. 275.

saw all their hopes confounded. A ministry was formed, whose measures were more in accordance with the national mind. In May 1857, Cortes assembled. The representatives of the people sanctioned the proceedings of the executive government, and, by their united authority, the worst provisions of the Concordat of 1851 were amply confirmed, the sale of Church property was forbidden, and all the limitations which had been set to the power of the bishops were at once removed.[370]

The reader will now be able to understand the real nature of Spanish civilization. He will see how, under the high-sounding names of loyalty and religion, lurk the deadly evils which those names have always concealed, but which it is the business of the historian to drag to light and expose. A blind spirit of reverence, taking the form of an unworthy and ignominious submission to the Crown and the Church, is the capital and essential vice of the Spanish people. It is their sole national vice, and it has sufficed to ruin them. From it all nations have grievously suffered, and many still suffer. But nowhere in Europe, has this principle been so long supreme as in Spain. Therefore, nowhere else in Europe are the consequences so manifest and so fatal. The idea of liberty is extinct, if, indeed, in the true sense of the word, it ever can be said to have existed. Outbreaks, no doubt, there have been, and will be; but they are bursts of lawlessness, rather than of liberty. In the most civilized countries, the tendency always is, to obey even unjust laws, but while obeying them to insist on their repeal. This is because we perceive that it is better to remove grievances than to resist them. While we submit to the particular hardship, we assail the system from which the hardship flows. For a nation to take this view, requires a certain reach of mind, which, in the darker periods of European history, was unattainable. Hence we find, that, in the middle ages, though tumults were incessant, rebellions were rare. But, since the sixteenth century, local insurrections, provoked by immediate injustice, are diminishing, and are being superseded by revolutions, which strike at once at the source from whence the injustice proceeds. There can be no doubt that this change is beneficial; partly because it is always good to rise from effects to causes, and partly because revolutions being less frequent than insurrections, the peace of society would be more rarely disturbed, if men confined themselves entirely to the larger remedy. At the same time, insurrections are generally wrong; revolutions are always right. An insurrection is too often the mad and pas-

[370] *Annuaire des Deux Mondes*, 1856, 1857, pp. 315-317, 324-331, 336.

sionate effort of ignorant persons, who are impatient under some immediate injury, and never stop to investigate its remote and general causes. But a revolution, when it is the work of the nation itself, is a splendid and imposing spectacle, because to the moral quality of indignation produced by the presence of evil, it adds the intellectual qualities of foresight and combination; and, uniting in the same act some of the highest properties of our nature, it achieves a double purpose, not only punishing the oppressor, but also relieving the oppressed.

In Spain, however, there never has been a revolution, properly so called; there never has even been one grand national rebellion. The people, though often lawless, are never free. Among them, we find still preserved that peculiar taint of barbarism, which makes men prefer occasional disobedience to systematic liberty. Certain feelings there are of our common nature, which even their slavish loyalty cannot eradicate, and which, from time to time, urge them to resist injustice. Such instincts are happily the inalienable lot of humanity, which we cannot forfeit, if we would, and which are too often the last resource against the extravagancies of tyranny. And this is all that Spain now possesses. The Spaniards, therefore, resist, not because they are Spaniards, but because they are men. Still, even while they resist, they revere. While they will rise up against a vexatious impost, they crouch before a system, of which the impost is the smallest evil. They smite the tax-gatherer, but fall prostrate at the feet of the contemptible prince for whom the tax-gatherer plies his craft. They will even revile the troublesome and importunate monk, or sometimes they will scoff at the sleek and arrogant priest; while such is their infatuation that they would risk their lives in defence of that cruel Church, which has inflicted on them hideous calamities, but to which they still cling, as if it were the dearest object of their affections.

Connected with these habits of mind, and in sooth forming part of them, we find a reverence for antiquity, and an inordinate tenacity of old opinions, old beliefs, and old habits, which remind us of those tropical civilizations which formerly flourished. Such prejudices were once universal even in Europe; but they began to die out in the sixteenth century, and are now, comparatively speaking, extinct, except in Spain, where they have always been welcomed. In that country, they retain their original force, and produce their natural results. By encouraging the notion, that all the truths most important to know are already known, they repress those aspirations, and dull that generous confidence in the future, without which nothing really

great can be achieved. A people who regard the past with too wistful an eye, will never bestir themselves to help the onward progress; they will hardly believe that progress is possible. To them, antiquity is synonymous with wisdom, and every improvement is a dangerous innovation. In this state, Europe lingered for many centuries; in this state, Spain still lingers. Hence the Spaniards are remarkable for an inertness, a want of buoyancy, and an absence of hope, which, in our busy and enterprizing age, isolate them from the rest of the civilized world. Believing that little can be done, they are in no hurry to do it. Believing that the knowledge they have inherited, is far greater than any they can obtain, they wish to preserve their intellectual possessions whole and unimpaired; inasmuch as the least alteration in them might lessen their value. Content with what has been already bequeathed, they are excluded from that great European movement, which, first clearly perceptible in the sixteenth century, has ever since been steadily advancing, unsettling old opinions, destroying old follies, reforming and improving on every side, influencing even such barbarous countries as Russia and Turkey; but leaving Spain unscathed. While the human intellect has been making the most prodigious and unheard-of strides, while discoveries in every quarter are simultaneously pressing upon us, and coming in such rapid and bewildering succession, that the strongest sight, dazzled by the glare of their splendour, is unable to contemplate them as a whole; while other discoveries still more important, and still more remote from ordinary experience, are manifestly approaching, and may be seen looming in the distance, whence they are now obscurely working on the advanced thinkers who are nearest to them, filling their minds with those ill-defined, restless, and almost uneasy, feelings, which are the invariable harbingers of future triumph; while the veil is being rudely torn, and nature, violated at all points, is forced to disclose her secrets, and reveal her structure, her economy, and her laws, to the indomitable energy of man; while Europe is ringing with the noise of intellectual achievements, with which even despotic governments affect to sympathize, in order that they may divert them from their natural course, and use them as new instruments whereby to oppress yet more the liberties of the people; while, amidst this general din and excitement, the public mind, swayed to and fro, is tossed and agitated,—Spain sleeps on, untroubled, unheeding, impassive, receiving no impressions from the rest of the world, and making no impressions upon it. There she lies, at the further extremity of the Continent, a huge and torpid mass, the sole representative now remaining of

the feelings and knowledge of the Middle Ages. And, what is the worst symptom of all, she is satisfied with her own condition. Though she is the most backward country in Europe, she believes herself to be the foremost. She is proud of every thing of which she should be ashamed. She is proud of the antiquity of her opinions; proud of her orthodoxy; proud of the strength of her faith; proud of her immeasurable and childish credulity; proud of her unwillingness to amend either her creed or her customs; proud of her hatred of heretics, and proud of the undying vigilance with which she has baffled their efforts to obtain a full and legal establishment on her soil.

All these things conspiring together, produce, in their aggregate, that melancholy exhibition to which we give the collective name of Spain. The history of that single word is the history of nearly every vicissitude of which the human species is capable. It comprises the extremes of strength and of weakness, of unbounded wealth and of abject poverty. It is the history of the mixture of different races, languages, and bloods. It includes almost every political combination which the wit of man can devise; laws infinite in variety, as well as in number; constitutions of all kinds, from the most stringent to the most liberal. Democracy, monarchy, government by priests, government by municipalities, government by nobles, government by representative bodies, government by natives, government by foreigners, have been tried, and tried in vain. Material appliances have been lavishly used; arts, inventions, and machines introduced from abroad, manufactures set up, communications opened, roads made, canals dug, mines worked, harbours formed. In a word, there has been every sort of alteration, except alterations of opinion; there has been every possible change, except changes in knowledge. And the result is, that in spite of the efforts of successive governments, in spite of the influence of foreign customs, and in spite of those physical ameliorations, which just touch the surface of society, but are unable to penetrate beneath, there are no signs of national progress; the priests are rather gaining ground than losing it; the slightest attack on the Church rouses the people; while, even the dissoluteness of the clergy, and the odious vices which, in the present century, have stained the throne, can do naught to lessen either the superstition or the loyalty which the accumulated force of many centuries has graven on the minds, and eaten into the hearts, of the Spanish nation.

CHAPTER II.

CONDITION OF SCOTLAND TO THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

In the preceding view of the rise and decay of Spain, I have sought to exhibit the successive steps by which what was formerly one of the greatest nations of the earth, was broken, and cast down from its high estate. As we look back on that scene, the picture is, indeed, striking. A country rich in all natural productions, inhabited by a brave, a loyal, and a religious people, removed, too, by its geographical position from the hazards of European revolutions, did, by the operation of those general causes which I have indicated, suddenly rise to unparalleled grandeur; and then, without the occurrence of any new combination, but by a mere continuance of the same causes, fall with an equal velocity. Yet, these vicissitudes, strange and startling as they appear, were perfectly regular. They were the legitimate consequence of a state of society, in which the spirit of protection had reached its highest point, and in which, every thing being done for the people, nothing was done by the people. Whenever this happens, there may be great political progress, but there can be no really national progress. There may be accessions of territory, and vast increase of fame and of power. There may be improvements in the practice of administration, in the management of finances, in the organization of armies, in the art and theory of war, in the tricks of diplomacy, and in those various contrivances by which one nation is able to outwit and insult another. So far, however, from this benefiting the people, it will injure them in two different ways. In the first place, by increasing the reputation of the ruling classes, it encourages that blind and servile respect which men are too apt to feel for those who are above them, and which, wherever it has been generally practised, has been found fatal to the highest qualities of the citizen, and therefore to the permanent grandeur of the nation. And, in the second

place, it multiplies the resources of the executive government, and thus renders the country unable, as well as unwilling, to correct the errors of those who are at the head of affairs. Hence, in Spain, as in all countries similarly circumstanced, it was at the very moment when things were most prosperous at the surface, that they were most rotten at the foundation. In presence of the most splendid political success, the nation hastened to its downfall, and the crisis was fast approaching, in which, the whole edifice being overturned, nothing would be left, except a memorable warning of the consequences which must ensue, when the people, giving themselves up to the passions of superstition and loyalty, abdicate their own proper functions, forego their own responsibility, renounce their highest duties, and degrade themselves into passive instruments to serve the will of the Church and the throne.

Such is the great lesson taught by the history of Spain. From the history of Scotland, we may gather another lesson, of a different, and yet of a similar, kind. In Scotland, the progress of the nation has been very slow, but on the whole, very sure. The country is extremely barren; the executive government has, with rare exceptions, been always weak; and the people have never been burdened with those feelings of loyalty which circumstances had forced upon the Spaniards. Certainly, the last charge that will be brought against the Scotch, is that of superstitious attachment to their princes.[1] We, in England, have not always been very tender of the persons of our sovereigns, and we have occasionally punished them with what some consider excessive severity. With this, we have been frequently taunted by the more loyal nations of the Continent; and, in Spain in particular, our conduct has excited the greatest abhorrence. But, if we compare our history with that of our northern neighbours, we must pronounce ourselves a meek and submissive people.[2] There have

[1] One of their own historians complacently says, "but the Scots were seldom distinguished for loyalty." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 199, edit. 1819. See also p. 366. To the same effect, Brodie (*History of the British Empire*, Edinburgh, 1822, vol. i. p. 383): "The little respect paid to royalty is conspicuous in every page of Scottish history." Or, as Wilkes expressed himself in the House of Commons, "Scotland seems, indeed, the natural *foyer* of rebellion, as Egypt is of the plague." *Parliamentary History*, vol. xix. p. 810, London, 1814; and Nimmo (*History of Stirlingshire*, Edinburgh, 1777, p. 219): "Never was any race of monarchs more unfortunate than the Scottish. Their reigns were generally turbulent and disastrous, and their own end often tragical."

[2] Indeed, a well-known Scotchman of the seventeenth century, scornfully says of the English, "such is the obsequiousness, and almost superstitious devotion of that nation towards their prince." *Baillie's Letters*, vol. i. p. 204, edit. Laing, Edinburgh, 1841. This, however, was written in 1639, since which we have effectually wiped off that reproach. On the other hand, an English writer of the seven-

been more rebellions in Scotland than in any other country; and the rebellions have been very sanguinary, as well as very numerous. The Scotch have made war upon most of their kings, and put to death many. To mention their treatment of a single dynasty, they murdered James I. and James III. They rebelled against James II. and James VII. They laid hold of James V., and placed him in confinement. Mary, they immured in a castle, and afterwards deposed. Her successor, James VI., they imprisoned; they led him captive about the country, and on one occasion attempted his life. Towards Charles I., they showed the greatest animosity, and they were the first to restrain his mad career. Three years before the English ventured to rise against that despotic prince, the Scotch boldly took up arms, and made war on him. The service which they then rendered to the cause of liberty it would be hard to overrate; but the singular part of the transaction was, that having afterwards got possession of the person of Charles, they sold him to the English for a large sum of money, of which they, being very poor, had pressing need. Such a sale is unparalleled in history; and although the Scotch might have plausibly alleged that this was the only gain they had derived, or ever could derive, from the existence of their hereditary prince, still the event is one which stands alone; it was unprecedented; it has never been imitated; and its occurrence is a striking symptom of the state of public opinion, and of the feelings of the country in which it was permitted.

While, however, in regard to loyalty, the opposition between Scotland and Spain is complete, there is, strange to say, the most striking similarity between those countries in regard to superstition. Both nations have allowed their clergy to exercise immense sway, and both have submitted their actions, as well as their consciences, to the authority of the Church. As a natural consequence, in both countries, intolerance has been, and still is, a crying evil; and in matters of religion, a bigotry is habitually displayed, discreditable indeed to Spain, but far more discreditable to Scotland, which has produced many philosophers of the highest eminence, who would willingly have taught the people better things, but who have vainly attempted to remove from the national mind that serious blemish which

teenth century, indignantly, though with evident exaggeration, imputes to the Scotch that "forty of their kings have been barbarously murdered by them; and half as many more have either made away with themselves, for fear of their torturing of them, or have died miserably in strait imprisonment." *Account of Scotland in* 1670, in *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 140, edit. Park, 4to, 1810. Compare two curious passages in *Shields' Hind let loose*, 1687, pp. 8, 9, 15.

mars its beauty, and tends to neutralize its many other admirable qualities.

Herein lies the apparent paradox, and the real difficulty, of Scotch history. That knowledge should not have produced the effects which have elsewhere followed it; that a bold and inquisitive literature should be found in a grossly superstitious country, without diminishing its superstition; that the people should constantly withstand their kings, and as constantly succumb to their clergy; that while they are liberal in politics, they should be illiberal in religion; and that, as a natural consequence of all this, men who, in the visible and external department of facts and of practical life, display a shrewdness and a boldness rarely equalled, should nevertheless, in speculative life, and in matters of theory, tremble like sheep before their pastors, and yield assent to every absurdity they hear, provided their Church has sanctioned it; that these discrepancies should coëxist, seems at first sight a strange contradiction, and is surely a phenomenon worthy of our careful study. To indicate the causes of this anomaly, and to trace the results to which the anomaly has led, will be the business of the remaining part of this volume; and although the investigation will be somewhat lengthy, it will not, I hope, be considered prolix, by those who recognise the importance of the inquiry, and are aware how completely it has been neglected, even by those who have written most fully on the history of the Scottish nation.

In Scotland, as elsewhere, the course of events has been influenced by its physical geography; and by this I mean, not only its own immediate peculiarities, but also its relation to adjoining countries. It is close to Ireland; it touches England; and by the contiguity of the Orkney and Shetland Isles, it was eminently exposed to the attacks of that great nation of pirates, which for centuries inhabited the Scandinavian peninsula. Considered merely by itself, it is mountainous and sterile; nature has interposed such obstacles, that it was long impossible to open regular communications between its different parts, which, indeed, in regard to the Highlands, was not effected till after the middle of the eighteenth century.[3] Finally, and this, as

[3] In England, the travelling was bad enough; in Scotand, it was far worse. Morer, stating what he saw in 1689, says, "Stage-coaches they have none; yet there are a few Hackney's at Edinburgh, which they may hire into the country upon urgent occasions. The truth is, the roads will hardly allow 'em those conveniences, which is the reason that their gentry, men and women, chuse rather to use their horses." *Morer's Account of Scotland*, London, 1702, p. 24.

As to the northern parts, we have the following account, written in Inverness, between 1726 and 1730. "The Highlands are but little known even to the inhabitants of the low country of Scotland, for they have ever dreaded the difficulties and dangers of travelling among the mountains; and, when some extraordinary

we shall presently see, was a matter of great importance, the most fertile land in Scotland is in the south, and was, therefore, constantly ravaged by the English borderers. Hence, the accumulation of wealth was hindered; the growth of towns was discouraged, by the serious hazards to which they were liable; and it was impossible to develop that municipal spirit, which might have existed, if the districts most favoured by nature had been situated in the north of Scotland, instead of in the south. If the actual state of things had been reversed, so that the Highlands were in the south,[4] and the Lowlands in the north, it can hardly be doubted, that, after the cessation in the thirteenth century of the great Scandinavian invasions, the most fertile parts of Scotland, being comparatively secure, would have been the seat of towns, which the active spirit of the people would have caused to prosper, and the prosperity of which would have introduced a new element into Scotch affairs,

occasion has obliged any one of them to such a progress, he has, generally speaking, made his testament before he set out, as though he were entering upon a long and dangerous sea-voyage, wherein it was very doubtful if he should ever return." *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, edit. London, 1815, vol. i. p. 4. Between 1720 and 1730, military roads were cut through parts of the Highlands, but they were "laid down by a practical soldier, and destined for warlike purposes, with scarcely any view towards the ends for which free and peaceful citizens open up a system of internal transit." *Burton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 255. See also *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 36. This is confirmed by the fact, that, even between Inverness and Edinburgh, "until 1755, the mail was conveyed by men on foot." Account of Inverness-shire, in *M'Culloch's British Empire*, London, 1847, vol. i. p. 299; to which I may add, that in *Anderson's Essay on the Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1827, pp. 119, 120, it is stated, that, "A postchaise was first seen in Inverness itself in 1760, and was, for a considerable time, the only four-wheeled carriage in the district." As to the communications in the country about Perth, see *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, pp. 131, 132, Perth, 1836; and as to those from Aberdeen to Inverness, and from Aberdeen to Edinburgh, see *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. pp. 269, 270, London, 4to, 1818.

The history of the improvement of the roads during the latter half of the eighteenth century, has never been written; but it is of the greatest importance for its intellectual results, in causing national fusion, as well as for its economical results, in helping trade. Some idea may be formed of the extraordinary energy displayed by Scotland in this matter, by comparing the following passages: *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 494, 865, 939, vol. iii. pp. 599, 799; *Crawfurd's History of the Shire of Renfrew*, part ii. pp. 128, 160; *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, pp. 245, 246; *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 109, 210, 367, 430, 496; vol. ii. p. 498; vol. iii. pp. 331, 352, 353; vol. iv. p. 313; vol. v. pp. 128, 234, 235, 315, 364, 365; vol. vi. pp. 107, 154, 180, 458; vol. vii. pp. 135, 251, 275, 299, 417; vol. viii. pp. 81, 243, 344, 345, 541; vol. ix. pp. 414, 530; vol. x. pp. 221, 237, 238, 466, 618; vol. xi. pp. 127, 380, 418, 432, 522, 541; vol. xii. p. 59; vol. xiii. pp. 42, 141, 488, 542, 663; vol. xiv. pp. 217, 227, 413, 448, 466, 506; vol. xv. pp. 54, 88, 276; vol. xvi. p. 120; vol. xvii. pp. 5, 267, 297, 377, 533; vol. xviii. p. 309; vol. xx. p. 156.

[4] I use the word Highlands in the common, though improper, sense of including all Scotland from the Pentland Firth to the beginning of the mountains, a few miles north of Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Dundee. All such distinctions are necessarily somewhat vague, because the boundaries of nature are never clearly marked. Compare *Macky's Scotland*, p. 124, London, 1732, with *Anderson's Guide to the Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1847, pp. 17, 18.

and changed the course of Scotch history. This, however, was not to be; and, as we have to deal with events as they actually are, I will now endeavour to trace the consequences of the physical peculiarities which have just been noticed; and, by coördinating their results, I will, so far as I am able, show their general meaning, and the way in which they have shaped the national character.

The earliest fact with which we are acquainted respecting the history of Scotland, is the Roman invasion under Agricola, late in the first century. But neither his conquests, nor those of his successors, made any permanent impression. The country was never really subjugated, and nothing was effected except a military occupation, which, in spite of the erection of numerous forts, walls, and ramparts, left the spirit of the inhabitants unbroken. Even Severus, who, in the year 209, undertook the last and most important expedition against Scotland, does not appear to have penetrated beyond the Firth of Moray;[5] and directly he retired, the natives were again in arms, and again independent. After this, nothing was attempted upon a scale large enough to give a chance of success. Indeed, the Romans, far from being equal to such an effort, were themselves deteriorating. In their best days, their virtues were the virtues of barbarians, and even those they were now about to lose. From the beginning, their scheme of life was so one-sided and imperfect, that the increase of wealth, which improves the civilization of really civilized countries, was to the Romans an irreparable mischief; and they were corrupted by luxury, instead of being refined by it. In our time, if we compare the different nations of Europe, we find that the richest are also the most powerful, the most humane, and the most happy. We live in that advanced state of society, in which wealth is both the cause and the effect of progress, while poverty is the fruitful parent of weakness, of misery, and of crime. But the Romans, when they ceased to be poor, began to be vicious. So unstable was the foundation of their greatness, that the very results which their power produced, were fatal to the power itself. Their empire

[5] Browne (*History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 33) says that "he traversed the whole of North Britain, from the wall of Antoninus to the very extremity of the island." The same thing is stated in *Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. p. 90. Neither of these writers quote their authority for this; but they probably relied on a passage in *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. iv. p. 94. "Neque tamen desideratis quinquaginta millibus (ut scribit Dion) prius ab incœpto destiterunt, quam ad finem insulæ penetrassent." I believe, however, that Scotch antiquaries are now agreed that this is wrong, as Chalmers was one of the first to perceive. See his *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 187; a very valuable and learned, but unhappily ill-arranged, book, and written in a style which is absolutely afflicting. See also *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, 4to, 1860, p. 14.

gave them wealth, and their wealth overthrew their empire. Their national character, notwithstanding its apparent strength, was in truth of so frail a texture, that it was ruined by its own development. As it grew, it dwarfed. Hence, it was, that, in the third and fourth centuries, their hold on mankind visiblv slackened. Their authority being undermined, other nations, of course, stepped in; so that the inroads of those strange tribes which came pouring from the north, and to whose appearance the final catastrophe is often ascribed, were at best the occasion, but by no means the cause, of the fall of the Roman Empire. Towards that great and salutary event, every thing had long been pointing. The scourges and oppressors of the world, whom a false and ignorant sympathy has invested with noble qualities which they never possessed, had now to look to themselves ; and when, after receding on all sides, they, in the middle of the fifth century, withdrew their forces from the whole of Britain, they merely executed a movement, which a train of circumstances, continued through several generations, had made inevitable.

It is at this point that we begin to discern the operation of those physical and geographical peculiarities which I have mentioned as influencing the fortunes of Scotland. The Romans gradually losing ground, the proximity of Ireland caused repeated attacks from that fertile island, whose rich soil and great natural advantages gave rise to an exuberant, and therefore a restless, population. An overflow, which, in civilized times, is an emigration, is, in barbarous times, an invasion. Hence the Irish, or Scotti as they were termed, established themselves by force of arms in the west of Scotland, and came into collision with the Picts, who occupied the eastern part. A deadly struggle ensued, which lasted four centuries after the withdrawal of the Romans, and plunged the country into the greatest confusion. At length, in the middle of the ninth century, Kenneth M'Alpine, king of the Scotti, gained the upper hand, and reduced the Picts to complete submission.[6] The country was now united under one rule ; and the conquerors, slowly absorbing the conquered, gave their name to the

[6] The history of Scoland, in this period, is in great confusion, and perhaps will never be recovered. For the statements made in the text, I have chiefly used the following authorities : *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. i. ; *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. v. pp. 121-132, and the beginning of the sixth book. Also various parts of *Bede ; Pinkerton's Enquiry into the Early History of Scotland ; Chalmers' Caledonia ;* the first volume of *Browne's History of the Highlands ;* and, above all, Mr. Skene's acute and learned work on the Highlanders. In the last-named book, the western boundary of the Picts is traced with great ingenuity, though perhaps with some uncertainty. *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 26-33, London, 1837.

whole, which, in the tenth century, received the appellation of Scotland.[7]

But the kingdom was to have no rest. For, in the mean time, circumstances, which it would be tedious to relate, had raised the inhabitants of Norway to be the greatest maritime power in Europe. The use which that nation of pirates made of their strength, forms another and a very important link in the history of Scotland, and moreover illustrates the immense weight, which, in an early period of society, should be assigned to mere geographical considerations. The nearest land to the centre of the long coast of Norway is the Shetland Isles, whence it is an easy sail to the Orkneys. The northern pirates naturally seized these small, but, to them, most useful islands, and, as naturally, made them intermediate stations, from which they could conveniently pillage the coasts of Scotland. Being constantly reinforced from Norway, they, in the ninth and tenth centuries, advanced from the Orkneys, made permanent settlements in Scotland itself, and occupied not only Caithness, but also great part of Sutherland. Another body of them got possession of the Western Islands ; and as Skye is only separated from the mainland by a very narrow channel, these pirates easily crossed over, and fixed themselves in Western Ross.[8] From their new abodes, they waged incessant and destructive war against every district within their reach ; and, keeping a large part of Scotland in constant alarm, they, for about three centuries, prevented the possibility of its social improvement. Indeed, that unhappy country was never free from the dangers of Norwegian invasion, until the failure of the last great attack, in 1263, when Haco left Norway with a prodigious armament, which he further strengthened by reinforcements from the Orkneys and Hebrides. Scotland could offer but little resistance. Haco, with his allies, sailed along the western coast to the Mull of Kentire, wasted the country with fire and sword, took Arran and Bute, entered the Firth of Clyde, suddenly fell upon Loch Lomond, destroyed all the property on its shores and

[7] Here, again, we are involved in doubt; it being uncertain when the name Scotia was first applied to Scotland. The date, therefore, which I have given, is only intended as an approximative truth. In arriving at it, I have compared the following different, and often conflicting, passages: *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 339. *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 34. *Pinkerton's Enquiry into the Early History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 253, 254, vol. ii. pp. 151, 228, 237, 240. *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, edit. Russell, 1851, vol. i. p. 16, note, where, however, Pinkerton's authority is appealed to for an assertion which he did not make. *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 45, 61, 244. *Anderson's Prize Essay on the Highlands*, p. 34.

[8] *Pinkerton's Enquiry into the Early History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 136, 317, vol. ii. pp. 179, 298. *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 90, 91, 94, 106, 114, 258, 259. *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 340-347.

on its islands, ravaged the whole county of Stirling, and threatened to descend with all his force upon Ayrshire. Fortunately, the inclemency of the weather broke up this great expedition, and scattered or destroyed the entire fleet.[9] After its dispersal, the course of affairs in Norway prevented the attempt from being renewed; and danger from that quarter being over, it might have been hoped, that Scotland would now enjoy peace, and would have leisure to develop the natural resources which she possessed, particularly those in the southern and more favoured districts.

This, however, was not to be. For, scarcely were the attacks from Norway at an end, when those from England began. Early in the thirteenth century, the lines of demarcation which separated Normans from Saxons, were, in our country, becoming so obliterated, that in many cases it was impossible to distinguish them.[10] By the middle of the same century, the two races were fused into one powerful nation; and, as that nation had a comparatively feeble neighbour, it was certain that the stronger people would try to oppress the weaker.[11] In an ignorant and barbarous age, military success is preferred to all other kinds of fame; and the English, greedy for conquests, set their eyes upon Scotland, which they were sure to invade at the first opportunity. That Scotland was near, made it tempting; that it was believed to be defenceless, made the temptation irresistible. In 1290, Edward I. determined to avail himself of the confusion into which Scotland was thrown by disputes respecting the succession to the crown. The intrigues which followed, need not be related; it is enough to say, that, in 1296, the sword was drawn, and Edward invaded a country which he had long desired to conquer. But he little recked of the millions of treasure, and the hundreds of thousands of lives, which were to be squandered, before that war was over.[12]

[9] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 38-54. The account in *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i. pp. 399-403, ascribes too much to the prowess of the Scotch, and too little to the elements which dispersed the fleet. Compare *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, second edition, 4to, 1860, pp. 48, 49.

[10] *Buckle's History of Civilization*, vol. i. p. 446.

[11] In *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 18, "the early part of the reign" of Alexander III. is indicated as the period in which "the first approaches were made towards the great plan for the reduction of Scotland" by the English. Alexander III. came to the throne in 1249. Earlier, the feeling was very different. Thus, late in the twelfth century, "the two nations, according to Fordun, seemed one people; Englishmen travelling at pleasure through all the corners of Scotland (?); and Scotchmen in like manner through England." *Ridpath's Border History*, p. 76. Compare *Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 158. At that time, England, being weak, was peaceably disposed.

[12] An old Scotch writer says, with some exaggeration, "The year 1296, at which tyme, the bloodyest and longest warr that ever was betwixt two nationes fell

The contest that ensued was of unexampled length and severity; and in its sad course, the Scotch, notwithstanding their heroic resistance, and the victories they occasionally gained, had to endure every evil which could be inflicted by their proud and insolent neighbour. The darling object of the English, was to subjugate the Scotch; and if any thing could increase the disgrace of so base an enterprise, it would be that, having undertaken it, they ignominiously failed.[13] The suffering, however, was incalculable, and was aggravated by the important fact, that it was precisely the most fertile part of Scotland which was most exposed to the English ravages. This, as we shall presently see, produced some very curious results on the national character; and for that reason, I will, without entering into many details, give a slight summary of the more immediate consequences of this long and sanguinary struggle.

In 1296, the English entered Berwick, the richest town Scotland possessed, and not only destroyed all the property, but slew nearly all the inhabitants.[14] They then marched on to Aberdeen and Elgin; and so completely desolated the country, that the Scotch, flying to the mountains, and stripped of their all, had no resource left but to wage from their native fastnesses a war similar to that which their savage ancestors, twelve centuries earlier, had conducted against the Romans.[15]

out, and continued two hundreth and sextie years, to the undoeing and ruineing of many noble families, with the slaughter of a million of men." *Somerville's Memoire of the Somervilles*, vol. i. p. 61.

[13] See some just and biting remarks in *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. p. 85.

[14] "Anno gratiæ MCCXCVI. tertio kalendas Aprilis, villa et castro de Berevvico, per magnificum regem Angliæ Eadvvardum captis, omnes ibidem inuentos Angli gladio occiderunt, paucis exceptis, qui ipsam villam postmodum abiurarūt." *Flores Historiarum per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem collecti*, Lond. 1570, folio, lib. ii. p. 403. "Atque modo prædicto villâ captâ, civibus prostratis, rex Angliæ prædictus nulli ætati parcens aut sexui, duobus diebus rivulis de cruore occisorum fluentibus, septem millia et quingentas animas promiscui sexûs jusserat, in sua tyrannide desæviens, trucidari." *Fordun's Scotichronicon, curâ Goodall*, Edinb. 1775, folio, vol. ii. pp. 159,160. "Secutus Rex cum peditum copiis miserabilem omnis generis cædem edit." *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, Abredoniæ, 1762, lib. viii. p. 200. "They left not one creature alive of the Scotish blood within all that toune." *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, Arbroath, 1805, 4to, vol. i. p. 418. In 1286, that is, only ten years earlier, "No other port of Scotland, in point of commercial importance, came near to a comparison with Berwick." *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, London, 4to, 1805, vol. i. p. 446. Such were the brutal crimes of our wretched and ignorant ancestors.

[15] "The Scots assembled in troops and companies, and betaking themselves to the woods, mountains, and morasses, in which their fathers had defended themselves against the Romans, prepared for a general insurrection against the English power." *Scott's History of Scotland*, London, 1830, vol. i. p. 70. Elgin appears to have been the most northern point of this expedition. See *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 119, and *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 657. The general results are summed up by Buchanan: "Hanc stragem ex agrorum incultu consecuta est fames, et famem pestis, unde major quàm è bello clades timebatur." *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. viii. p. 203.

In 1298, the English again broke in, burnt Perth and St. Andrews, and ravaged the whole territory south and west.[16] In 1310, they invaded Scotland by the eastern march, and carrying off such provisions as were left, caused so terrible a dearth, that the people were forced to feed on horses and other carrion.[17] All over southern Scotland, both east and west, the inhabitants were now reduced to a horrible condition, being for the most part houseless and starved. In 1314, made desperate by their state, they rallied for a moment, and, in the battle of Bannockburn, gloriously defeated their oppressors. But their unrelenting enemy was at hand, and pressed them so hard, that, in 1322, Bruce, in order to baffle an English invasion, was obliged to lay waste all the districts south of the Firth of Forth; the people taking refuge, as before, in the mountains.[18] This time, therefore, when Edward II. reached Edinburgh, he plundered nothing, because, the country being a desert, there was nothing to plunder; but, on his return, he did what he could, and meeting with some convents, which were the only signs of life that he encountered, he fell upon them, robbed the monasteries of Melrose and Holyrood, burnt the abbey of Dryburgh, and slew those monks, who, from age or disease, were unable to escape.[19] In 1336, the next king, Edward III., equipped a

[16] "The army then advanced into Scotland by moderate marches, wasting and destroying every thing on their way." . . . . "A party of Edward's army, sent northwards, wasted the country, and burnt Perth and Saint Andrews." *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 146, 147.

[17] "The king entered Scotland by the eastern march with a great army." . . . . "There was this year so terrible a dearth and scarcity of provisions in Scotland, arising from the havoc of war, that many were obliged to feed on the flesh of horses and other carrion." *Ibid.* pp. 164, 165. See also *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. pp. 242, 243. "Quo anno, propter guerrarum discrimina, tanta erat panis inopia et victualium caristia in Scotia, quòd in plerisque locis, compellente famis necessitate, multi carnibus equorum et aliorum pecorum immundorum vescebantur."

[18] Bruce "carefully laid the whole borders waste as far as the Firth of Forth, removing the inhabitants to the mountains, with all their effects of any value. When the English army entered, they found a land of desolation, which famine seemed to guard." *Scott's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 145. See also *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. viii. p. 218.

[19] "Eadwardus, rex Angliæ, intravit Scotiam cum magno exercitu equitum et peditum, ac navium multitudine copiosa, duodecimo die mensis Augusti, et usque villam de Edinburgh pervenit." . . . . "Spoliatis tamen tunc in reditu Anglorum et prædatis monasteriis Sanctæ Crucis de Edinburgh et de Melros, atque ad magnam desolationem perductis. In ipso namque monasterio de Melros dominus Willelmus de Peblis, ejusdem monasterii Prior, unus etiam monachus tunc infirmus, et duo conversi cæci effecti, in dormitorio eorundem ab eisdem Anglis sunt interfecti, et plures monachi lethaliter vulnerati. Corpus Dominicum super magnum altare fuit projectum, ablatâ pixide argenteâ in quâ erat repositum. Monasterium de Driburgh igne penitùs consumptum est et in pulverem redactum. Ac *alia pia loca quamplurima* per prædicti regis violentiam ignis flamma consumpsit: quod, Deo retribuente, eisdem in prosperum non cessit." *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 278. "In redeundo sacra juxta ac prophana spoliata. Monasteria Driburgum et Mulrossia etiam cæsis monachis infirmioribus, qui vel defectu virium, vel senectutis fiducia soli remanserant, incensa." *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. viii. p. 219.

numerous army, devastated the Lowlands, and a great part of the Highlands, and destroyed every thing he could find, as far as Inverness.[20] In 1346, the English overran the districts of Tweeddale, the Merse, Ettrick, Annandale, and Galloway;[21] and in 1355, Edward, in a still more barbarous inroad, burnt every church, every village, and every town he approached.[22] And scarcely were these frightful losses somewhat repaired, when another storm burst upon the devoted land. In 1385, Richard II. traversed the southern counties to Aberdeen, scattering destruction on every side, and reducing to ashes the cities of Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee.[23]

By these disasters, the practice of agriculture was every where interrupted, and in many places ceased for several generations.[24] The labourers either fled, or were murdered; and there being no one to till the ground, some of the fairest parts of Scotland were turned into a wilderness, overgrown with briers and thickets. Between the invasions, a few of the inhabitants, taking courage, issued from the mountains, and raised wretched huts in the place of their former abodes. But, even then, they were pursued to their very doors by wolves, searching for food, and maddened with hunger. If they escaped from these famished and ferocious animals, they and their families were ex-

[20] *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. pp. 322, 323. *Dalrymple's Annals*, vol. ii. pp. 232, 447. *Scott's History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 187, 188.

[21] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 451.

[22] *Dalrymple's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 288. *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. pp. 352-354.

[23] "Rex Angliæ, Richardus secundus ægrè ferens Scotos et Francos tam atrociter terram suam deprædare, et municipia sua assilire et ad terram prosternere, exercitum collegit grandem, et intravit Scotiam, ætate tunc novemdecim annorum, in multitudine superba progrediens, omnia circumquaque perdens, et nihil salvans; templa Dei et, sanctuaria religiosorum monasteria viz. Driburgh, Melros et Newbottel, ac nobilem villam de Edinburgh, cum ecclesia Sancti Ægidii ejusdem, voraci flammâ incineravit; et destructione permaximâ factâ per eum in Laudonia, ad propria sine damno repatriavit." *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 401. "En ce séjour que le roi Richard fit en Hairldebourch les Anglois coururent tout le pays d'environ et y firent moult de desrois; mais nullui n'y trouvèrent; car tout avoient retrait ens ès forts, et ens ès grands bois, et là chassé tout leur bétail." . . . "Et ardirent les Anglois la ville de Saint-Jean-Ston en Ecosse, où la rivière du Tay cuert, et y a un bon port pour aller partout le monde; et puis la ville de Dondie; et n'épargnoient abbayes ni moûtiers; tout mettoient les Anglois en feu et en flambe; et coururent jusques à Abredane les coureurs et l'avant-garde." *Les Chroniques de Froissart*, edit. Buchon, vol. ii. pp. 334, 335, Paris, 1835. See also, on this ruffianly expedition, *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 592, 593, and *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. ix. p. 253: "Nulli loco, neque sacro, neque profano, nulli homini, qui modò militari esset ætate, parcebat."

[24] "Agriculture was ruined; and the very necessaries of life were lost, when the principal lords had scarcely a bed to lye on." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 142. See also, in p. 867 of the same volume of this learned work, some curious extracts from Scotch charters and other sources, illustrating the horrible condition of the country. And on the difficulty of obtaining food, compare *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. pp. 242, 324; *Dalrymple's Annals*, vol. i. p. 307, vol. ii. pp. 238, 330; and *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 94.

posed to a danger still more horrible. For, in those terrible days, when famine stalked abroad, despair perverted the souls of men, and drove them to new crime. There were cannibals in the land; and we have it on contemporary authority, that a man and his wife, who were at length brought to justice, subsisted during a considerable period on the bodies of children, whom they caught alive in traps, devouring their flesh, and drinking their blood.[25]

Thus the fourteenth century passed away. In the fifteenth century, the devastations of the English became comparatively rare; and, although the borders were the scene of constant hostilities,[26] there is no instance, since the year 1400, of any of our kings invading Scotland.[27] An end being put to those murderous expeditions, which reduced the country to a desert, Scotland drew breath, and began to recover her strength.[28] But, though the material losses were gradually repaired; though the fields were again cultivated, and the towns rebuilt, there were other consequences, which were less easy to remedy, and from whose effects the people long smarted. These were, the inordinate power of the nobles, and the absence of the municipal spirit. The strength of the nobles, and the weakness of the citizens, are the most important peculiarities of Scotland during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and they, as I am

[25] Notices of Scotch cannibals will be found in *Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland*, edit. 1814, vol. i. p. 163; and in *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, 4to, 1805, vol. ii. pp. 16, 99. In *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, vol. ii. p. 331, the following horrible account is given; it refers to the neighbourhood of Perth in the year 1339: "Tota illa patria circumvicina eo tempore in tantum fuit vastata, quòd non remansit quasi domus inhabitata, sed feræ et cervi de montanis descendentes circa villam sæpiùs venabantur. Tanta tunc temporis facta est caristia, et victualium inopia, ut passim plebicula deficeret, et tanquam oves herbas depascentes, in foveis mortua reperirentur. Prope illinc in abditis latitabat quidam robustus rusticus, Crysticleik nomine, cum viragine sua, qui mulierculis et pueris ac juvenibus insidiabantur, et, tanquam lupi eos strangulantes, de ipsorum carnibus victitabant."

[26] Even when the two nations were at peace, the borderers were at war. See *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 240, 308, 394; and for other evidence of this chronic anarchy, compare *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 30. *Lesley's History of Scotland*, pp. 40, 52, 67. *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. pp. 300, 301, 444, 449. *State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, 4to, 1836, vol. iv. pp. 366, 370, 569, 570, vol. v. pp. 17, 18, 161. *Historie of James the Sext*, pp. 21, 91, 146.

[27] In 1400, Henry IV. made "the last invasion which an English monarch ever conducted into Scotland." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 406. It is said, however, that it was not till the reign of Elizabeth, that an English sovereign "had the policy to disavow any claim of sovereignty over Scotland." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 650.

[28] But very slowly. Pinkerton (*History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 166, 167) says: "The frequent wars between Scotland and England, since the death of Alexander III., had occasioned to the former country the loss of more than a century in the progress of civilization. While in England, only the northern provinces were exposed to the Scotish incursions, Scotland suffered in its most civilized departments. It is apparent that in the reign of Alexander III., the kingdom was more abundant in the useful arts and manufactures, than it was in the time of Robert III."

about to show, were directly encouraged by the ravages committed by the English troops. We shall, moreover, see that this combination of events increased the authority of the clergy, weakened the influence of the intellectual classes, and made superstition more prevalent than it would otherwise have been. It is in this way, that in Scotland, as in all other countries, every thing is linked together; nothing is casual or accidental; and the whole march of affairs is governed by general causes, which, owing to their largeness and remoteness, often escape attention, but which, when once recognized, are found to be marked by a simplicity and uniformity, which are the invariable characteristics of the highest truths that the mind of man has reached.

The first circumstance favourable to the authority of the nobles, was the structure of the country. Mountains, fens, lakes, and morasses, which even the resources of modern art have only recently made accessible, supplied the great Scottish chieftains with retreats in which they could with impunity defy the power of the crown.[29] The poverty of the soil, also, made it difficult for armies to find means of subsistence; and from this cause alone, the royal troops were often unable to pursue the lawless and refractory barons.[30] During the fourteenth century, Scotland was constantly ravaged by the English; and in the intervals of their absence, it would have been a hopeless undertaking for any king to try to repress such powerful subjects, since he would have had to march through districts so devastated by the enemy, that they no longer yielded the common necessaries of life. Besides this, the war with the English lessened the authority of the crown, absolutely as well as relatively. Its patrimony, lying in the south, was incessantly wasted by the borderers, and before the middle of the fourteenth century, greatly deteriorated in value.[31] In 1346, David II.

[29] Owing to this, their castles were, by position, the strongest in Europe; Germany alone excepted. Respecting their sites, which were such as to make them in many instances almost unassailable, see *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 122, 406, 407, 918, 919, vol. iii. pp. 268, 269, 356-359, 864; *Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 175, 177; *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 169, vol. vii. p. 510, vol. xi. pp. 102, 212, 407, 408, vol. xii. pp. 25, 58, vol. xiii. p. 598, vol. xv. p. 187, vol. xvi. p. 554, vol. xviii. p. 579, vol. xix. p. 474, vol. xx. pp. 56, 312; *Macky's Scotland*, pp. 183, 297; and some good remarks in *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, p. 56. Neither England, nor France, nor Italy, nor Spain, afforded such immense natural advantages to their aristocracy.

[30] "By retiring to his own castle, a mutinous baron could defy the power of his sovereign, it being almost impracticable to lead an army through a barren country, to places of difficult access to a single man." *History of Scotland*, book i. p. 59, in *Robertson's Works*, edit. London, 1831. Notwithstanding the immense materials which have been brought to light since the time of Robertson, his *History of Scotland* is still valuable; because he possessed a grasp of mind which enabled him to embrace general views, that escape ordinary compilers, however industrious they may be.

[31] "The patrimony of the Crown had been seriously dilapidated during the

fell into the hands of the English, and during his captivity of eleven years, the nobles carried all before them, and affected, says an historian, the style and title of princes.[32] The longer the war with England continued, the more these consequences were felt; so that before the close of the fourteenth century, a few of the leading Scotch families had raised themselves to such preëminence, that it was evident, either that a deadly struggle must ensue between them and the crown, or else that the executive government would have to abdicate its most essential functions, and leave the country a prey to these headstrong and ferocious chiefs.[33]

At this crisis, the natural allies of the throne would have been the citizens and free burgesses, who in most European countries were the eager and resolute opponents of the nobles, whose licentious habits interfered not only with their trade and manufactures, but also with their personal liberty. Here again, however, the long war with England was favourable to the aristocracy of Scotland. For, as the invaders ravaged the southern parts of Scotland, which were also the only tolerably fertile parts, it was impossible that towns should flourish in the places which nature had appointed for them. There being no large cities, there was no asylum for the citizens, and there could be no municipal spirit. There being no municipal spirit, the crown was deprived of that great resource, which enabled the English kings to curtail the power of the nobles, and to punish a lawlessness which long impeded the progress of society.

During the middle ages, the Scotch towns were so utterly insignificant, that but few notices have been preserved of them; contemporary writers concentrating their attention upon the proceedings of the nobles and clergy. Respecting the people, who found shelter in such miserable cities as then existed, our best accounts are very imperfect; it is, however, certain that, during the long English wars, the inhabitants usually fled at the approach of the invaders, and the wretched hovels in which they lived were burned to the ground.[34] Hence the population

period of confusion which succeeded the battle of Durham." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 86.

[32] "During the long captivity of David," the nobles had been completely insubordinate, and "affected the style and title of princes." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 85. See also, on the state of the barons under David II., *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 63-67.

[33] In 1299, "a superior baron was in every respect a king in miniature." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 150. In 1377, "the power of the barons had been decidedly increasing since the days of Robert the First." p. 332. And, by 1398, it had risen still higher. p. 392.

[34] On this burning of Scotch towns, which appears to have been the invariable

acquired a fluctuating and vagabond character, which prevented the formation of settled habits of industry, and thus took away one reason which men have for congregating together. This applied more especially to the southern Lowlands; for the north, there were other evils equally threatening. The ferocious Highlanders, who lived entirely by plunder, were constantly at hand; and to them were not unfrequently added the freebooters of the Western Isles. Any thing which bore even the semblance of wealth, was an irresistible excitement to their cupidity. They could not know that a man had property, without longing to steal it; and, next to stealing, their greatest pleasure was to destroy.[35] Aberdeen and Inverness were particularly exposed to their assaults; and twice during the fifteenth century, Inverness was totally consumed by fire, besides having to pay at other times a heavy ransom, to save itself from a similar fate.[36]

practice of our humane forefathers, see *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. pp. 592, 593; *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. pp. 18, 27, 375, vol. ii. p. 304; *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, pp. 55, 56; *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. v. p. 485, vol. x. p. 584, vol. xix. p. 161; *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 147, 221, 265.

[35] A curious description of them is given in a Scotch statute, of the year 1597. "They hawe lykwayis throche thair barbarus inhumanitie maid and presentlie makis the saidis hielandis and Iles qlk are maist cōmodious in thame selwes alsueill be the ferteillitie of the ground as be riche fischeingis altogidder vnproffitabill baithe to thame selffis and to all vthuris his hienes liegis within this realme; Thay nathair intertening onie ciuill or honest societie amangis thame selffis neyther zit admittit vtheris his hienesse lieges to trafficque within thair boundis vithe saiftie of thair liues and gudes; for remeid quhairof and that the saidis inhabitantis of the saidis hilandeis and Iles may the better be reduced to ane godlie, honest, and ciuill maner of living, it is statute and ordanit," &c. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 138, edit. folio, 1816.

These little peculiarities of the Highlanders remained in full force until about the middle of the eighteenth century, as will appear in the course of this history. But, without anticipating what will be narrated in a subsequent chapter, I will merely refer the reader to two interesting passages in *Pennant's Scotland*, vol. i. p. 154, and in *Heron's Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 218, 219; both of which illustrate the state of things a little before 1745.

[36] Inverness was burned in 1429. *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, p. 36; and again in 1455, *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xi. p. 322. "The greatest part" of it was also burned in 1411. See *Anderson on the Highlands*, Edinb. 1827, p. 82.

Aberdeen, being richer, was more tempting, but was likewise more able to defend itself. Still, its burgh records supply curious evidence of the constant fear in which the citizens lived, and of the precautions which they took to ward off the attacks, sometimes of the English, and sometimes of the clans. See the *Council Register of Aberdeen* (published by the Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844-1848, 4to), vol. i. pp. 8, 19, 60, 83, 197, 219, 232, 268, vol. ii. p. 82. The last entry, which is dated July 31, 1593, mentions "the disordourit and lawles helandmen in Birss, Glentanner, and their about, nocht onlie in the onmerciful murthering of men and bairnis, bot in the maisterfull and violent robbing and spulzeing of all the bestiall, guidis, and geir of a gryt pairt of the inhabitantis of theas boundis, rasing of gryt hairschip furth of the samen, being committit to ewous and nar this burgh, within xx mylis theirunto, deuysit and ordanit for preservatioun of this burgh and inhabitantis theirof, fra the tyrannous invasion of the saidis hieland men, quha has na respect to God nor man; that the haill inhabitantis of this burgh, fensiball persones als weill onfrie as frie, salbe in reddiness weill armit for the defence of this burgh, thair awin lyvis, gudis,

Such insecurity[37] both on the north and on the south, made peaceful industry impossible in any part of Scotland. Nowhere could a town be built, without being in danger of immediate destruction. The consequence was, that, during many centuries, there were no manufactures; there was hardly any trade; and nearly all business was conducted by barter.[38] Some of the commonest arts were unknown. The Scotch were unable to make even the arms with which they fought. This, among such a warlike people, would have been a very profitable labour; but they were so ignorant of it, that, early in the fifteenth century, most of the armour which they wore was manufactured abroad, as also were their spears, and even their bows and arrows; and the heads of these weapons were entirely imported from Flanders.[39] Indeed, the Flemish artizans supplied the Scotch with ordinary farming implements, such as cart-wheels and wheel-barrows, which, about the year 1475, used to be regularly shipped from the Low Countries.[40] As to the arts

and geir, and resisting and repressing of the said heland men as occasioun salbe offered, at all tymes and houris as thay salbe requirt and chargit."

Even in 1668 we find complaints that Highlanders had forcibly carried off women from Aberdeen or from its neighbourhood. *Records of the Synod of Aberdeen*, p. 290. Other evidence of their attacks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may be seen in *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 133; *Spalding's History of the Troubles*, vol. i. pp. 25, 217; *Extracts from the Presbytery Book of Strathbogie*, pp. 62, 73.

[37] Even Perth ceased to be the capital of Scotland, because "its vicinity to the Highlands" made it dangerous for the sovereign to reside there. *Lawson's Book of Perth*, p. xxxi.

[38] On the prevalence of barter, and lack of specie, in Scotland, see the *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. iv. pp. lvii.-lx., Aberdeen, 1849, 4to. In 1492, the treasury of Aberdeen was obliged to borrow 4*l.* 16*s.* Scots. *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 61. Compare *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. x. p. 542. Fynes Moryson, who was in Scotland late in the sixteenth century, says, "the gentlemen reckon their revenues not by rents of money, but by chauldrons of victuals." *Moryson's Itinerary*, part iii. p. 155, London, folio, 1617; a rare and extremely curious book, which ought to be reprinted. A hundred years after Moryson wrote, it was observed that, "in England, the rents are paid in money; in Scotland, they are, generally speaking, paid in kind, or victual, as they call it." *De Foe's History of the Union*, p. 130.

[39] In the reign of James I. (1424-1436), "It appears that armour, nay spears, and bows and arrows, were chiefly imported." . . . "In particular, the heads of arrows and of spears seem to have been entirely imported from Flanders." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 163. We learn from Rymer's *Fœdera*, that, in 1368, two Scotchmen having occasion to fight a duel, got their armour from London. *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 575.

[40] From the *Bibel of English Policy*, supposed to have been written in the reign of Edward IV., we learn that "the Scotish imports from Flanders were mercery, but more haberdashery, cart-wheels, and wheel-barrows." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 408. In *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, p. 61, we are told that, in the fifteenth century, "Even in the best parts of Scotland, the inhabitants could not manufacture the most necessary articles. Flanders was the great mart in those times, and from Bruges chiefly, the Scots imported even horse-shoes, harness, saddles, bridles, cart-wheels, and wheel-barrows, besides all their mercery and haberdashery."

which indicate a certain degree of refinement, they were then, and long afterwards, quite out of the question.[41] Until the seventeenth century, no glass was manufactured in Scotland,[42] neither was any soap made there.[43] Even the higher class of citizens would have deemed windows absurd in their wretched abodes;[44] and as they were alike filthy in their persons as in their houses, the demand for soap was too small to induce any one to attempt its manufacture.[45] Other branches of industry were equally backward. In 1620, the art of tanning leather was for the first time introduced into Scotland;[46] and it is stated,

[41] Aberdeen was, for a long period, one of the most wealthy, and, in some respects, the most advanced, of all the Scotch cities. But it appears, from the council-registers of Aberdeen, that, "in the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was not a mechanic in the town capable to execute the ordinary repairs of a clock." *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 99. On the Scotch clocks in the middle of the sixteenth century, compare Mr. Morley's interesting *Life of Cardan*, London, 1854, vol. ii. p. 128. Cardan was in Scotland in 1552.

[42] About 1619, Sir George Hay "set up at the village of Wemyss, in Fife, a small glass-work, being the first known to have existed amongst us." *Chambers' Annals*, vol. i. p. 506. See also p. 428.

[43] "Before this time, soap was imported into Scotland from foreign countries, chiefly from Flanders." *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 507, under the year 1619, where mention is made of the manufactory set up at Leith. "The sope-workes of Leith" are noticed in 1650, in *Belfour's Annales*, vol. iv. p. 68.

[44] Ray, who visited Scotland in 1661, says, "In the best Scottish houses, even the king's palaces, the windows are not glazed throughout, but the upper part only; the lower have two wooden shuts or folds to open at pleasure and admit the fresh air." . . . . "The ordinary country-houses are pitiful cots, built of stone, and covered with turves, having in them but one room, many of them no chimneys, the windows very small holes and not glazed." *Ray's Itineraries*, p. 153, edited by Dr. Lankester, London, 1846. "About 1752, the glass window was beginning to make its appearance in the small farm-houses." *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. ii. p. 265, Edinburgh, 1797.

[45] In 1650, it was stated of the Scotch, that "many of their women are so sluttish, that they do not wash their linen above once a month, nor their hands and faces above once a year." *Whitelock's Memorials*, p. 468, London, 1732, folio. Six or seven years after this, a traveller in Scotland says, "the linen they supplied us with, were it not to boast of, was little or nothing different from those female complexions that never washed their faces to retain their christendom." *Franck's Northern Memoirs*, edit. Edinburgh, 1821, p. 94. A celebrated Scotchman notices, in 1698, the uncleanly habits of his countrymen, but gives a comical reason for them; since, according to him, they were in a great measure caused by the position of the capital. "As the happy situation of London has been the principal cause of the glory and riches of England, so the bad situation of Edinburgh has been one great occasion of the poverty and uncleanliness in which the greater part of the people of Scotland live." *Second Discourse on the Affairs of Scotland*, in *Fletcher of Saltoun's Political Works*, p. 119, Glasgow, 1749. Another Scotchman, among his reminiscences of the early part of the eighteenth century, says, that "table and body linen [were] seldom shifted." *Memoires by Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk*, in *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 100, Aberdeen, 1842, 4to. Finally, we have positive proof that in some parts of Scotland, even at the end of the eighteenth century, the people used, instead of soap, a substitute too disgusting to mention. See the account communicated by the Rev. William Leslie to Sir John Sinclair, in *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 177, Edinburgh, 1793.

[46] *Chambers' Annals*, vol. i. p. 512.

on apparently good authority, that no paper was made there until about the middle of the eighteenth century.[47]

In the midst of such general stagnation, the most flourishing towns were, as may be easily supposed, very thinly peopled. Indeed, men had so little to do, that if they had collected in large numbers, they must have starved. Glasgow is one of the oldest cities in Scotland, and is said to have been founded about the sixth century.[48] At all events, in the twelfth century, it was, according to the measure of that age, a rich and prosperous place, enjoying the privilege of holding both a market and a fair.[49] It had also a municipal organization, and was governed by its own provosts and baillies.[50] Yet, even this famous town had no kind of trade before the fifteenth century, when the inhabitants began to cure salmon, and export it.[51] That was the only branch of industry with which Glasgow was acquainted. We need not, therefore, be surprised at hearing, that so late as the middle of the fifteenth century, the entire population did not exceed fifteen hundred persons, whose wealth consisted of some small cattle, and a few acres of ill-cultivated land.[52]

[47] A paper-mill was established near Edinburgh in 1675; but "there is reason to conclude this paper-mill was not continued, and that paper-making was not successfully introduced into Scotland till the middle of the succeeding century." *Chambers' Annals*, vol. ii. p. 399. I have met with so many proofs of the great accuracy of this valuable work, that I should be loath to question any statement made by Mr. Chambers, when, as in this case, I have only my memory to trust to. But I think that I have seen evidence of paper being successfully manufactured in Scotland late in the seventeenth century, though I cannot recall the passages. However, Arnot, in his *History of Edinburgh*, p. 599, edit. 4to, says, "About forty years ago, printing or writing paper began to be manufactured in Scotland. Before that, papers were imported from Holland, or brought from England." As Arnot's work was printed in 1788, this coincides with Mr. Chambers' statement. I may add, that, at the end of the eighteenth century, there were "two paper-mills near Perth." *Heron's Journey through Scotland*, vol. i. p. 117, Perth, 1799; and that, in 1751 and 1763, the two first paper-mills were erected north of the Forth. *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 593, vol. xvi. p. 373. Compare *Lettice's Letters from Scotland in* 1792, p. 420.

[48] "This city was founded about the sixth century." *M'Ure's History of Glasgow*, edit. 1830, p. 120. Compare *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, p. 2. Glasgow, 1804.

[49] In 1172, a market was granted to Glasgow; and in 1190, a fair. See the charters in the Appendix to *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, pp. 299, 302, Glasgow, 1777.

[50] "By the sale of land made by Robert de Mythyngby to Mr. Reginald de Irewyne, A. D. 1268, it is evident that the town was then governed by provosts, aldermen, or wardens, and baillies, who seem to have been independent of the bishop, and were possessed of a common seal, distinct from the one made use of by the bishop and chapter." *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, p. 72.

[51] "A Mr. William Elphinston is made mention of as the first promoter of trade in Glasgow, so early as the year 1420; the trade which he promoted was, in all probability, the curing and exporting of salmon." *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, p. 203. See also *M'Ure's History of Glasgow*, p. 93.

[52] Gibson (*History of Glasgow*, p. 74), with every desire to take a sanguine view

Other cities, though bearing a celebrated name, were equally backward at a still more recent period. Dunfermline is associated with many historic reminiscences; it was a favourite residence of Scotch kings, and many Scotch parliaments have been held there.[53] Such events are supposed to confer distinction; but the illusion vanishes, when we inquire more minutely into the condition of the place where they happened. In spite of the pomp of princes and legislators, Dunfermline, which at the end of the fourteenth century was still a poor village, composed of wooden huts,[54] had, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, advanced so slowly that its whole population, including that of its wretched suburbs, did not exceed one thousand persons.[55] For a Scotch town, that was a considerable number. About the same time, Greenock, we are assured, was a village consisting of a single row of cottages, tenanted by poor fishermen.[56] Kilmarnock, which is now a great emporium of industry and of wealth, contained, in 1668, between five and six hundred inhabitants.[57] And, to come down still lower, even Paisley itself, in the year 1700, possessed a population which, according to the highest estimate, did not amount to three thousand.[58]

Aberdeen, the metropolis of the north, was looked up to as one of the most influential of the Scotch towns, and was not a little envied during the Middle Ages, for its power and import-

of the early state of his own city, says, that, in 1450, the inhabitants "might perhaps amount to fifteen hundred;" and that "their wealth consisted in a few burrow-roods very ill-cultivated, and in some small cattle, which fed on their commons."

[53] "Dunfermline continued to be a favourite royal residence as long as the Scottish dynasty existed. Charles I. was born here; as also his sister Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia, from whom her present Majesty is descended; and Charles II. paid a visit to this ancient seat of royalty in 1650. The Scottish parliament was often held in it." *M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary*, London, 1849, vol. i. p. 723. Compare *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, 1828, pp. 56, 58, and *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline*, 1844, p. 264.

[54] In 1385, it was "only a sorry wooden village, belonging to the monastery." *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, p. 62.

[55] See "Ms. Annals," in *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline* p. 327. In 1624, we learn from *Balfour's Annales*, edit. 1825, vol. ii. p. 99, that "the quholl bodey of the towne, wich did consist of 120 tenements, and 287 families, was brunt and consumed."

[56] "Greenock, which is now one of the largest shipping towns in Scotland, was, in the end of the sixteenth century, a mean fishing village, consisting of a single row of thatched cottages, which was inhabited by poor fishermen." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 806, 4to, 1824.

[57] In May 1668, Kilmarnock was burnt; and "the event is chiefly worthy of notice as marking the smallness of Kilmarnock in those days, when, as yet, there was no such thing as manufacturing industry in the country. A hundred and twenty families speaks to a population of between five and six hundred." *Chambers' Annals*, Edinburgh, 1858, vol. ii. p. 320. In 1658, their houses are described by an eye-witness as "little better than huts." *Franck's Northern Memoirs*, reprinted Edinburgh, 1821, p. 101.

[58] "Betwixt two and three thousand souls." *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, p. 542, edit. Glasgow, 1804.

ance. These, however, like all other words, are relative, and mean different things at different periods. Certainly, we shall not be much struck by the magnitude of that city, when we learn, from calculations made from its tables of mortality, that, so late as 1572, it could only boast of about two thousand nine hundred inhabitants.[59] Such a fact will dispel many a dream respecting the old Scotch towns, particularly if we call to mind, that it refers to a date, when the anarchy of the Middle Ages was passing away, and Aberdeen had for some time been improving. That city—if so miserable a collection of persons deserves to be termed a city—was, nevertheless, one of the most densely peopled places in Scotland. From the thirteenth century to the close of the sixteenth, no where else were so many Scotchmen assembled together, except in Perth, Edinburgh, and possibly in Saint Andrews.[60] Respecting Saint Andrews, I have been unable to meet with any precise information;[61] but of Perth and Edinburgh, some particulars are preserved. Perth was long the capital of Scotland, and after losing that preëminence, it was still reputed to be the second city in the kingdom.[62] Its wealth was supposed to be astonishing; and every good Scotchman was proud of it, as one of the chief ornaments of his country.[63] But, according to an estimate

[59] In 1572, the registers of Aberdeen show that seventy-two deaths occurred in the year. An annual mortality of 1 in 40 would be a very favourable estimate; indeed, rather too favourable, considering the habits of the people at that time. However, supposing it to be 1 in 40, the population would be 2880; and if, as I make no doubt, the mortality was more than 1 in 40, the population must of course have been less. Kennedy, in his valuable, but very uncritical, work, conjectures that "one fiftieth part of the inhabitants had died annually;" though it is certain that there was no town in Europe any thing like so healthy as that. On this hypothesis, which is contradicted by every sort of statistical evidence that has come down to us, the number would be $72 \times 50 = 3600$. See *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 103, London, 1818, 4to.

[60] "St. Andrews, Perth, and Aberdeen, appear to have been the three most populous cities before the Reformation." *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, 1836, p. 26. The same assertion is made in *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, 1843, vol. i. p. 2. But neither of these writers appear to have made many researches on the subject, or else they would not have supposed that Aberdeen was larger than Edinburgh.

[61] I have carefully read the two histories of St. Andrews, by Dr. Grierson and by Mr. Lyon, but have found nothing in them of any value concerning the early history of that city. Mr. Lyon's work, which is in two thick volumes, is unusually superficial, even for a local history; and that is saying much.

[62] "Of the thirteen parliaments held in the reign of King James I., eleven were held at Perth, one at Stirling, and one at Edinburgh. The National Councils of the Scottish clergy were held there uniformly till 1459. Though losing its pre-eminence by the selection of Edinburgh as a capital, Perth has uniformly and constantly maintained the second place in the order of burghs, and its right to do so has been repeatedly and solemnly acknowledged." *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, 1836, p. 231. See also p. 305. It appears, however, from Froissart, that Edinburgh was deemed the capital in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

[63] I find one instance of its being praised by a man who was not a Scotch-

recently made by a considerable authority in these matters, its entire population, in the year 1585, was under nine thousand.[64] This will surprise many readers; though, considering the state of society at that time, the real wonder is, not that there were so few, but that there were so many. For, Edinburgh itself, notwithstanding the officials and numerous hangers-on, which the presence of a court always brings, did not contain, late in the fourteenth century, more than sixteen thousand persons.[65] Of their general condition, a contemporary observer has left us some account. Froissart, who visited Scotland, and records what he saw, as well as what he heard, gives a lamentable picture of the state of affairs. The houses in Edinburgh were mere huts, thatched with boughs; and were so slightly put together, that when one of them was destroyed, it only took three days to rebuild it. As to the people who inhabited these wretched hovels, Froissart, who was by no means given to exaggeration, assures us, that the French, unless they had seen them, could not have believed that such destitution existed, and that now, for the first time, they understood what poverty really was.[66]

man. Alexander Necham "takes notice of Perth in the following distich, quoted in Camden's Britannia:

'Transis ample Tai, per rura, per oppida, per Perth:
Regnum sustentant illius urbis opes.'

Thus Englished in Bishop Gibson's Translation of Camden's Book:

'Great Tay, through Perth, through towns, through country flies:
Perth the whole kingdom with her wealth supplies.'"

Sinclair's Scotland, vol. xviii. p. 511.

[64] 1427 × 6 = 8562, the computed population in 1584 and 1585, exclusive of the extraordinary mortality caused by the plague. *Chambers' Annals of Scotland*, 1858, vol. i. p. 158.

[65] "The inhabitants of the capital, in the reign of Robert II., hardly exceeded sixteen thousand." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 152.

[66] When the French arrived in Edinburgh, the Scotch said, "'Quel diable les a mandés? Ne savons-nous pas bien faire notre guerre sans eux aux Anglois? Nous ne ferons jà bonne besogne tant comme ils soient avec nous. On leur dise que ils s'en revoisent, et que nous sommes gens assez en Escosse pour parmaintenir notre guerre, et que point nous ne voulons leur compagnie. Ils ne nous entendent point, ni nous eux; nous ne savons parler ensemble; ils auront tantôt riflé et mangé tout ce qui est en ce pays: ils nous feront plus de contraires, de dépits, et de dommages, si nous les laissons convenir, que les Anglois ne feroient si ils s'étoient embattus entre nous sans ardoir. Et si les Anglois ardent nos maisons, que peut il chaloir? Nous les aurons tantôt refaites à bon marché, nous n'y mettons au refaire que trois jours, mais que nous ayons quatre ou six estaches et de la ramée pour lier par dessus.'"

"Ainsi disoient les Escots en Escosse à la venue des seigneurs de France." .... "Et quand les Anglois y chevauchent ou que ils y vont, ainsi que ils y ont été plusieurs fois, il convient que leurs pourvéances, si ils veulent vivre, les suivent toujours au dos; car on ne trouve rien sur le pays: à grand'peine y recuevre-l'en du fer pour serrer les chevaux, ni du cuir pour faire harnois, selles ni brides. Les choses toutes faites leur viennent par mer de Flandre, et quand cela leur défaut, ils n'ont nulle chose. Quand ces barons et ces chevaliers de France qui avoient appris ces beaux hôtels à trouver, ces salles parées, ces chasteaux et ces bons mols lits

After this period, there was, no doubt, considerable improvement; but it was very slow, and even late in the sixteenth century, skilled labour was hardly known, and honest industry was universally despised.[67] It is not, therefore, surprising, that the citizens, poor, miserable, and ignorant, should frequently purchase the protection of some powerful noble by yielding to him the little independence that they might have retained.[68] Few of the Scotch towns ventured to elect their chief magistrate from among their own people; but the usual course was to choose a neighbouring peer as provost or baillie.[69] Indeed, it

pour reposer, se virent et trouvèrent en celle povreté, si commencèrent à rire et à dire: 'En quel pays nous a ci amenés l'amiral? Nous ne sçumes oncques que ce fût de povreté ni de dureté fors maintenant.'" *Les Chroniques de Froissart*, edit. Buchon, Paris, 1835, vol. ii. pp. 314, 315. "The hovels of the common people were slight erections of turf, or twigs, which, as they were often laid waste by war, were built merely for temporary accommodation. Their towns consisted chiefly of wooden cottages." . . . . "Even as late as 1600, the houses of Edinburgh were chiefly built of wood." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 802. Another account, written in 1670, says, "The houses of the commonalty are very mean, mud-wall and thatch, the best; but the poorer sort live in such miserable huts as never eye beheld." . . . . "In some parts, where turf is plentiful, they build up little cabbins thereof, with arched roofs of turf, without a stick of timber in it; when the house is dry enough to burn, it serves them for fuel, and they remove to another." *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. vi. p. 139, 4to, 1810.

[67] "Our manufactures were carried on by the meanest of the people, who had small stocks, and were of no reputation. These were, for the most part, workmen for home-consumpt, such as masons, house-carpenters, armourers, blacksmiths, taylors, shoemakers, and the like. Our weavers were few in number, and in the greatest contempt, as their employments were more sedentary, and themselves reckoned less fit for war, in which all were obliged to serve, when the exigencies of the country demanded their attendance." *The Interest of Scotland Considered*, Edinburgh, 1733, p. 82. Pinkerton (*History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 392), referring to the Sloane manuscripts, says, "The author of an interesting memoir concerning the state of Scotland about 1590, observes, that the husbandmen were a kind of slaves, only holding their lands from year to year; that the nobility being too numerous for the extent of the country, there arose too great an inequality of rank and revenue; and there was no middle station between a proud landholder and those who, having no property to lose, were ready for any tumult. A rich yeomanry, numerous merchants and tradesmen of property, and all the denominations of the middle class, so important in a flourishing society, were long to be confined to England." Thirteen years later, we are told that the manufactures of Scotland "were confined to a few of the coarsest nature, without which the poorest nations are unable to subsist." *Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 7, under the year 1603.

[68] Thus, for instance, "the town of Dunbar naturally grew up under the shelter of the castle of the same name." . . . . "Dunbar became the town, in demesn, of the successive Earls of Dunbar and March, partaking of their influences, whether unfortunate or happy." *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 416. "But when the regal government became at any time feeble, these towns, unequal to their own protection, placed themselves under the shelter of the most powerful lord in their neighbourhood. Thus, the town of Elgyn found it necessary, at various periods between the years 1389 and 1452, to accept of many charters of protection, and discharges of taxes, from the Earls of Moray, who held it in some species of vassalage." *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. v. p. 3. Compare *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 396; and two letters, written in 1543 and 1544, by the magistrates of Aberdeen, to the Earl of Huntly, and printed in the *Council Register of Aberdeen*, vol. i. pp. 190, 201, Aberdeen, 1844, 4to. They say to him, "Ye haf our band as protectour to wss."

[69] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 225. See also p. 131; and *Pinkerton's*

often happened that his office became hereditary, and was looked upon as the vested right of some aristocratic family.[70] To the head of that family, every thing gave way. His authority was so incontestable, that an injury done even to one of his retainers was resented, as if it had been done to himself.[71] The burgesses who were sent to parliament, were completely dependent on the noble who ruled the town. Down to quite modern times, there was in Scotland no real popular representation. The so-called representatives were obliged to vote as they were ordered; they were, in fact, delegates of the aristocracy; and as they possessed no chamber of their own, they sat and deliberated in the midst of their powerful masters, by whom they were openly intimidated.[72]

History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 179. Sometimes the nobles did not leave to the citizens even the appearance of a free election, but fought it out among themselves. An instance of this happened at Perth, in 1544, "where a claim for the office of provost was decided by arms, between Lord Ruthven on the one side, supported by a numerous train of his vassals, and Lord Gray, with Norman Lesley master of Rothes, and Charteris of Kinfauns, on the other." *Tytler*, vol. iv. p. 323.

[70] For illustrations of this custom, see *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 230. *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. ii. p. 154. *Denholm's History of Glasgow*, p. 249. *Mercer's History of Dunfermline*, p. 83.

[71] "An injury inflicted on the 'man' of a nobleman was resented as much as if he himself had been the injured party." *Preface to the Council Register of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. xii.

[72] See, in *Macaulay's History of England*, vol. i. p. 93, 1st edit., a spirited description of Scotland in 1639. "The parliament of the northern kingdom was a very different body from that which bore the same name in England." . . . . "The three estates sat in one house. The commissioners of the burghs were considered merely as retainers of the great nobles," &c. To come down much later, Lord Cockburn gives a terrible account of the state of things in Scotland in 1794, the year in which Jeffrey was called to the bar. "There was then, in this country, no popular representation, no emancipated burghs, no effective rival of the established church, no independent press, no free public meetings, and no better trial by jury, even in political cases (except high treason), than what was consistent with the circumstances, that the jurors were not sent into court under any impartial rule, and that, when in court, those who were to try the case were named by the presiding judge. The Scotch representatives were only forty-five, of whom thirty were elected for counties, and fifteen for towns. Both from its price and its nature (being enveloped in feudal and technical absurdities), the elective franchise in counties, where alone it existed, was far above the reach of the whole lower, and of a great majority of the middle, and of many even of the higher, ranks. There were probably not above 1500 or 2000 county electors in all Scotland; a body not too large to be held, hope included, in government's hand. The return, therefore, of a single opposition member was never to be expected." . . . . "Of the fifteen town members, Edinburgh returned one. The other fourteen were produced by clusters of four or five unconnected burghs electing each one delegate, and these four or five delegates electing the representative. Whatever this system may have been originally, it had grown, in reference to the people, into as complete a mockery as if it had been invented for their degradation. The people had nothing to do with it. It was all managed by town-councils, of never more than thirty-three members; and every town-council was self-elected, and consequently perpetuated its own interests. The election of either the town or the county member was a matter of such utter indifference to the people, that they often only knew of it by the ringing of a bell, or by seeing it mentioned next day in a newspaper; for the farce was generally performed in an apartment from which, if convenient, the public could be excluded,

Under these circumstances, it would have been idle for the crown to have expected aid from a body of men who themselves had no influence, and whose scanty privileges existed only on suffrance. But there was another class, which was extremely powerful, and to which the Scotch kings naturally turned. That class was the clergy; and the interest which both parties had in weakening the nobles, caused a coalition between the church and the throne, against the aristocracy. During a long period, and indeed until the latter half of the sixteenth century, the kings almost invariably favoured the clergy, and increased their privileges in every way they could. The Reformation dissolved this alliance, and gave rise to new combinations, which I shall presently indicate. But while the alliance lasted, it was of great use to the clergy, by imparting to their claims a legitimate sanction, and making them appear the supporters of order and of regular government. The result, however, clearly proved that the nobles were more than equal to the confederacy which opposed them. Indeed, looking at their enormous power, the only wonder is, that the clergy could have prolonged the contest as they did; since they were not actually overthrown until the year 1560. That the struggle should have been so arduous, and should have extended over so considerable a period, is what, on a superficial view, no one could have expected. The reason of this, I shall now endeavour to explain; and I shall, I trust, succeed in proving, that in Scotland there was a long train of general causes, which secured to the spiritual classes immense influence, and which enabled them, not only to do battle with the most powerful aristocracy in Europe, but to rise up, after what seemed their final defeat, fresh and vigorous as ever, and eventually to exercise, as Protestant preachers, an authority nowise inferior to that which they had wielded as Catholic priests.

Of all Protestant countries, Scotland is certainly the one where the course of affairs has for the longest period been most favourable to the interests of superstition. How those interests were encouraged during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I shall hereafter relate. At present, I purpose to examine the causes of their early growth, and to show the way in which they were not only connected with the Reformation, but gave to that great event some peculiarities which are extremely remarkable, and are diametrically opposed to what happened in England.

and never in the open air." *Cockburn's Life of Jeffrey*, Edinburgh, 1852, vol. i. pp. 74-76. On the state of Scotch representation between this and the Reform Bill, compare *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, 4to, 1860, pp. 275, 276, with *Moore's Memoirs*, edited by Lord John Russell, vol. iv. p. 268, vol. vi. p. 163, London, 1853-4.

If the reader will bear in mind what I have elsewhere stated,[73] he will remember that the two principal sources of superstition are ignorance and danger; ignorance keeping men unacquainted with natural causes, and danger making them recur to supernatural ones. Or, to express the same proposition in other words, the feeling of veneration, which, under one of its aspects, takes the form of superstition, is a product of wonder and of fear;[74] and it is obvious that wonder is connected with ignorance, and that fear is connected with danger.[75] Hence it is, that whatever in any country increases the total amount of amazement, or whatever in any country increases the total amount of peril, has a direct tendency to increase the total amount of superstition, and therefore to strengthen the hands of the priesthood.

By applying these principles to Scotland, we shall be able to explain several facts in the history of that country. In the first place, the features of its scenery offer a marked contrast to those of England, and are much more likely, among an ignorant people, to suggest effective and permanent superstitions. The storms and the mists, the darkened sky flashed by frequent lightning, the peals of thunder reverberating from mountain to mountain, and echoing on every side, the dangerous hurricanes, the gusts sweeping the innumerable lakes with which the country is studded, the rolling and impetuous torrent flooding the path of the traveller and stopping his progress, are strangely different to those safer and milder phenomena, among which the English people have developed their prosperity, and built up their mighty cities. Even the belief in witchcraft, one of the blackest superstitions which has ever defaced the human mind, has been affected by these peculiarities; and it has been well observed, that while, according to the old English creed, the witch was a miserable and decrepit hag, the slave rather than the mistress of the demons which haunted her, she, in Scotland, rose to the dignity of a potent sorcerer, who mastered the evil spirit, and, forcing it to do her will, spread among the people a far deeper and more lasting terror.[76]

[73] *History of Civilization*, vol. i. pp. 91-94, 278-281

[74] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 486.

[75] We must discriminate between wonder and admiration. Wonder is the product of ignorance; admiration is the product of knowledge. Ignorance wonders at the supposed irregularities of nature; science admires its uniformities. The earlier writers rarely attended to this distinction, because they were misled by the etymology of the word "admiration." The Romans were very superficial thinkers upon all matters except jurisprudence; and their blundering use of "admirari" gave rise to the error, so common among our old writers, of "I admire," instead of "I wonder."

[76] "Our Scottish witch is a far more frightful being than her supernatural co-

Similar results were produced by the incessant and sanguinary wars to which Scotland was exposed, and especially by the cruel ravages of the English in the fourteenth century. Whatever religion may be in the ascendant, the influence of its ministers is invariably strengthened by a long and dangerous war, the uncertainties of which perplex the minds of men, and induce them, when natural resources are failing, to call on the supernatural for help. On such occasions, the clergy rise in importance; the churches are more than usually filled; and the priest, putting himself forward as the exponent of the wishes of God, assumes the language of authority, and either comforts the people under their losses in a righteous cause, or else explains to them that those losses are sent as a visitation for their sins, and as a warning that they have not been sufficiently attentive to their religious duties; in other words, that they have neglected rites and ceremonies, in the performance of which the priest himself has a personal interest.

No wonder, therefore, that in the fourteenth century, when the sufferings of Scotland were at their height, the clergy flour-

adjutor on the south side of the Tweed. She sometimes seems to rise from the proper sphere of the witch, who is only the slave, into that of the sorcerer, who is master of the demon." . . . . "In a people so far behind their neighbours in domestic organisation, poor and hardy, inhabiting a country of mountains, torrents, and rocks, where cultivation was scanty, accustomed to gloomy mists and wild storms, every impression must necessarily assume a corresponding character. Superstitions, like funguses and vermin, are existences peculiar to the spot where they appear, and are governed by its physical accidents." . . . . "And thus it is that the indications of witchcraft in Scotland are as different from those of the superstition which in England receives the same name, as the Grampian Mountains from Shooter's Hill or Kennington Common." *Burton's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 240-243. This is admirably expressed, and exhausts the general view of the subject. The relation between the superstition of the Scotch and the physical aspects of their country is also touched upon, though with much inferior ability, in *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 106, and in *Sinclair's Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 560. Hume, in his *Commentaries on the Law of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 556, has an interesting passage on the high pretensions of Scotch witchcraft, which never degenerated, as in other countries, into a mere attempt at deception, but always remained a sturdy and deep-rooted belief. He says, "For, among the many trials for witchcraft which fill the record, I have not observed that there is even one which proceeds upon the notion of a vain or cheating art, falsely used by an imposter to deceive the weak and credulous." Further information respecting Scotch witchcraft will be found in *Mackenzie's Criminal Laws of Scotland*, Edinburgh, folio, 1699, pp. 42-56; *Correspondence of Mrs. Grant of Laggan*, London, 1844, vol. iii. pp. 186, 187; *Southey's Life of Bell*, London, 1844, vol. i. p. 52; *Vernon Correspondence*, edited by James, London, 1841, vol. ii. p. 301; *Weld's History of the Royal Society*, London, 1848, vol. i. p. 89; *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, edit. 1815, vol. i. pp. 220, 221; *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 41, Edinburgh, 1845; *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1843, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57. The work of James I., and that of Sir Walter Scott, need hardly be referred to, as they are well known to every one who is interested in the history of witchcraft; but Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, though less read, are, in every respect, more valuable on account of the materials they contain for a study of this department of Scotch superstition.

ished more than ever; so that as the country became poorer, the spiritual classes became richer in proportion to the rest of the nation. Even in the fifteenth, and first half of the sixteenth century, when industry began somewhat to advance, we are assured that notwithstanding the improvement in the position of laymen, the whole of their wealth put together, and including the possessions of all ranks, was barely equal to the wealth of the Church.[77] If the hierarchy were so rapacious and so successful during a period of comparative security, it would be difficult to overrate the enormous harvest they must have reaped in those earlier days, when danger being much more imminent, hardly any one died without leaving something to them; all being anxious to testify their respect towards those who knew more than their fellows, and whose prayers could either avert present evil, or secure future happiness.[78]

Another consequence of these protracted wars was, that a more than ordinary proportion of the population embraced the ecclesiastical profession, because in it alone there was some chance of safety; and the monasteries in particular were crowded with persons who hoped, though frequently in vain, to escape from the burnings and slaughterings to which Scotland was exposed. When the country, in the fifteenth century, began to recover from the effects of these ravages, the absence of manufactures and of commerce, made the Church the best

[77] Pinkerton (*History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 414) says, that, in the reigns of James II. and James III., "the wealth of the Church was at least equivalent to that of all the lay interest." See also *Life of Spottiswoode*, p. liii., in volume i. of his *History of the Church of Scotland*. "The numerous devices employed by ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, for enriching the several Foundations to which they were attached, had transferred into their hands more than half of the territorial property of Scotland, or of its annual produce."

In regard to the first half of the sixteenth century, it is stated by a high authority, that, just before the Reformation, "the full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy." *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 10. And another writer says, "If we take into account the annual value of all these abbeys and monasteries, in conjunction with the bishoprics, it will appear at once that the Scottish Catholic hierarchy was more munificently endowed, considering the extent and resources of the kingdom, than it was in any other country in Europe." *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 22. See also respecting the incomes of the Scotch bishops, which, considering the poverty of the country, were truly enormous, *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1843, vol. i. pp. 97, 125.

[78] "They could employ all the motives of fear and of hope, of terror and of consolation, which operate most powerfully on the human mind. They haunted the weak and the credulous; they besieged the beds of the sick and of the dying; they suffered few to go out of the world without leaving marks of their liberality to the Church, and taught them to compound with the Almighty for their sins, by bestowing riches upon those who called themselves his servants." *History of Scotland*, book ii. p. 89, in *Robertson's Works*, London, 1831. It is interesting to observe the eagerness with which the clergy of one persuasion expose the artifices of those of another. By comparing their different statements, laymen gain an insight into the entire scheme.

avenue to wealth;[79] so that it was entered by peaceful men for the purpose of security, and by ambitious men as the surest means of achieving distinction.

Thus it was, that the want of great cities, and of that form of industry which belongs to them, made the spiritual classes more numerous than they would otherwise have been; and what is very observable is, that it not only increased their number, but also increased the disposition of the people to obey them. Agriculturists are naturally, and by the very circumstances of their daily life, more superstitious than manufacturers, because the events with which they deal are more mysterious, that is to say, more difficult to generalize and predict.[80] Hence it is, that, as a body, the inhabitants of agricultural districts pay greater respect to the teachings of their clergy than the inhabitants of manufacturing districts. The growth of cities has, therefore, been a main cause of the decline of ecclesiastical power; and the fact that, until the eighteenth century, Scotland had nothing worthy of being called a city, is one of many circumstances which explain the prevalence of Scotch superstition, and the inordinate influence of the Scotch clergy.

To this, we must add another consideration of great moment. Partly from the structure of the country, partly from the weakness of the crown, and partly from the necessity of being constantly in arms to repel foreign invaders, the predatory habits incidental to an early state of society were encouraged, and consequently the reign of ignorance was prolonged. Little was studied, and nothing was known. Until the fifteenth century, there was not even an university in Scotland, the first having been founded at St. Andrews in 1412.[81] The nobles, when they were not making war upon the enemy, occupied themselves in cutting each other's throats, and stealing each

[79] Pinkerton observes, under the year 1514, that "ecclesiastical dignities presented almost the only path to opulence." *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 123.

[80] *Buckle's History of Civilization*, vol. i. pp. 280-282.

[81] Arnot (*History of Edinburgh*, p. 386) says, that the University of St. Andrews was founded in 1412; and the same thing is stated in *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. ii. p. 83. Grierson, in his *History of St. Andrews*, Cupar, 1838, p. 14, says, "In 1410, the city of St. Andrews first saw the establishment of its famous university, the most ancient institution of the kind that exists in Scotland;" but, at p. 144 of the same work, we are told, that the charter, "constituting and declaring it to be a university," is "dated at St. Andrews, the 27th of February 1411." See also *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. i. pp. 203-206, vol. ii. p. 223. At all events, "at the commencement of the fifteenth century, no university existed in Scotland; and the youth who were desirous of a liberal education were under the necessity of seeking it abroad." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 211. The charter granted by the Pope, confirming the university, reached Scotland in 1413. *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 12.

other's cattle.[82] Such was their ignorance, that, even late in the fourteenth century, there is said to be no instance of a Scotch baron being able to sign his own name.[83] And as nothing approaching to a middle class had been yet formed, we may from this gain some idea of the amount of knowledge possessed by the people at large.[84] Their minds must have been immersed in a darkness which we can now barely conceive. No trades, or arts, being practised which required skill, or dexterity, there was nothing to exercise their intellects. They consequently remained so stupid and brutal, that an intelligent observer, who visited Scotland in the year 1360, likens them to savages, so much was he struck by their barbarism and their unsocial manners.[85] Another writer, early in the fifteenth century, uses the same expression; and, classing them with the animals which they tended, he declares that Scotland is fuller of savages than of cattle.[86]

By this combination of events, and by this union of ignorance with danger, the clergy had, in the fifteenth century, obtained more influence in Scotland than in any other European country, Spain alone excepted. And as the power of the nobles had increased quite as rapidly, it was natural that the crown, completely overshadowed by the great barons, should turn for aid to the Church. During the fifteenth century, and part of

[82] Those were times, when, as a Scotch lawyer delicately expresses himself, "thieving was not the peculiar habit of the low and indigent, but often common to them with persons of rank and landed estate." *Hume's Commentaries on the Law of Scotland*, 4to, 1797, vol. i. p. 126. The usual form of robbery being cattle-stealing, a particular name was invented for it; see p. 148, where we learn that it "was distinguished by the name of Hership or Herdship, being the driving away of numbers of cattle, or other bestial, by the masterful force of armed people."

[83] Tytler, who was a great patriot, and disposed to exaggerate the merit of every thing which was Scotch, does nevertheless allow that, "from the accession of Alexander III. to the death of David II. (*i. e.* in 1370), it would be impossible, I believe, to produce a single instance of a Scottish baron who could sign his own name." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 239, 240. Early in the sixteenth century, I find it casually mentioned, that "David Straiton, a cadet of the house of Laureston," .... "could not read." *Wodrow's Collections*, vol. i. pp. 5, 6. The famous chief, Walter Scott of Harden, was married in 1567; and "his marriage contract is signed by a notary, because none of the parties could write their names." *Chambers' Annals*, vol. i. p. 46. Crawfurd (*History of Renfrew*, part iii. p. 313) says: "the modern practice of subscribing names to writes of moment was not used in Scotland till about the year 1540;" but he forgets to tell us why it was not used. In 1564, Robert Scot of Thirlstane, "ancestor of Lord Napier," could not sign his name. See *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 394.

[84] A Scotchman, of considerable learning, says: "Scotland was no less ignorant and superstitious at the beginning of the fifteenth century, than it was towards the close of the twelfth." *Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 428.

[85] "Et sont ainsi comme gens sauvages qui ne se savent avoir ni de nulli accointer." *Les Chroniques de Froissart*, edit. Buchon, Paris, 1835, vol. ii. p. 315.

[86] "Plus pleine de sauvagine que de bestail." *Hist. de Charles VI. par Le Laboureur*, quoted in *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 149.

the sixteenth, this alliance was strictly preserved;[87] and the political history of Scotland is the history of a struggle by the kings and the clergy against the enormous authority of the nobles. The contest, after lasting about a hundred and sixty years, was brought to a close in 1560, by the triumph of the aristocracy, and the overthrow of the Church. With such force, however, had the circumstance just narrated, engrained superstition into the Scotch character, that the spiritual classes quickly rallied, and, under their new name of Protestants, they became as formidable as under their old name of Catholics. Forty-three years after the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, James VI. ascended the throne of England, and was able to array the force of the southern country against the refractory barons of the northern. From that moment the Scotch aristocracy began to decline; and, the equipoise to the clergy being removed, the Church became so powerful, that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was the most effectual obstacle to the progress of Scotland; and even now it exercises a sway which is incomprehensible to those who have not carefully studied the whole chain of its antecedents. To trace with minuteness the long course of affairs which has led to this unfortunate result, would be incompatible with the object of an Introduction, whose only aim it is to establish broad and general principles. But, to bring the question clearly before the mind of the reader, it will be necessary, that I should give a slight sketch of the relation which the nobles bore to the clergy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of the way in which their relative position, and their implacable hatred of each other, brought about the Reformation. By this means, we shall perceive, that the great Protestant movement, which, in other countries, was democratic, was, in Scotland, aristocratic. We shall also see, that, in Scotland, the Reformation, not being the work of the people, has never produced the effects which might have been expected from it, and which it did produce in England. It is, indeed, but too evident, that, while in England, Protestanism has diminished superstition, has weakened the clergy, has increased toleration, and, in a word, has secured the triumph of secular interests over ecclesiastical ones, its result in Scotland has been entirely different; and that, in that country, the Church, changing its form, with-

[87] Occasionally, we find evidence of it earlier, but it was hardly systematic. Compare *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 66, with *Dalrymple's Annals*, vol. i. pp. 72, 110, 111, 194, vol. iii. p. 296; *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, p. 88; *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline*, pp. 133, 134.

out altering its spirit, not only cherished its ancient pretensions, but unhappily retained its ancient power; and that, although that power is now dwindling away, the Scotch preachers still exhibit, whenever they dare, an insolent and domineering spirit, which shows how much real weakness there yet lurks in the nation, where such extravagant claims are not immediately silenced by the voice of loud and general ridicule.

CHAPTER III.

CONDITION OF SCOTLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

EARLY in the fifteenth century, the alliance between the Crown and the Church, and the determination of that alliance to overthrow the nobles, became manifest. Indications of this may be traced in the policy of Albany, who was Regent from 1406 to 1419, and who made it his principal object to encourage and strengthen the clergy.[1] He also dealt the first great blow upon which any government had ventured against the aristocracy. Donald, who was one of the most powerful of the Scottish chieftains, and who, indeed, by the possession of the Western Isles, was almost an independent prince, had seized the earldom of Ross, which, if he could have retained, would have enabled him to set the Crown at defiance. Albany, backed by the Church, marched into his territories, in 1411, forced him to renounce the earldom, to make personal submission, and to give hostages for his future conduct.[2] So vigorous a proceeding on the part of the executive, was extremely unusual in Scotland;[3] and it was the first of a series of aggressions, which ended in the Crown obtaining for itself, not only Ross, but also the Western Isles.[4] The policy inaugurated by Albany, was

[1] "The Church was eminently favoured by Albany." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 86. But Pinkerton misunderstands his policy in regard to the nobles.

[2] *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. pp. 72-74; *Browne's History of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 162, vol. iv. pp. 435, 436.

[3] Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 826, 827), referring to the state of things before Albany, says, "There is not a trace of any attempt by Robert II. to limit the power of the nobles, whatever he may have added, by his improvident grants, to their independence. He appears not to have attempted to raise the royal prerogative from the debasement in which the imprudence and misfortunes of David II. had left it." And, of his successor, Robert III., "So mild a prince, and so weak a man, was not very likely to make any attempt upon the power of others, when he could scarcely support his own."

[4] In 1476, "the Earldom of Ross was inalienably annexed to the Crown; and a

followed up with still greater energy by James I. In 1424, this bold and active prince procured an enactment, obliging many of the nobles to show their charters, in order that it might be ascertained what lands they held, which had formerly belonged to the Crown.[5] And, to conciliate the affections of the clergy, he, in 1425, issued a commission, authorizing the Bishop of Saint Andrews to restore to the Church whatever had been alienated from it; while he at the same time directed that the justiciaries should assist in enforcing execution of the decree.[6] This occurred in June; and what shows that it was part of a general scheme is, that in the preceding spring, the king suddenly arrested, in the parliament assembled at Perth, upwards of twenty of the principal nobles, put four of them to death, and confiscated several of their estates.[7] Two years afterwards, he, with equal perfidy, summoned the Highland chiefs to meet him at Inverness, laid hands on them also, executed three, and imprisoned more than forty, in different parts of the kingdom.[8]

By these measures, and by supporting the Church with the same zeal that he attacked the nobles, the king thought to reverse the order of affairs hitherto established, and to secure the supremacy of the throne over the aristocracy.[9] But herein,

great blow was thus struck at the power and grandeur of a family which had so repeatedly disturbed the tranquillity of Scotland." *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 50. In 1493, "John, fourth and last Lord of the Isles, was forfeited, and deprived of his title and estates." *Ibid.* p. 58.

[5] As those who held crown lands were legally, though not in reality, the king's tenants, the act declared, that "gif it like the king, he may ger sūmonde all and sindry his tenand at lauchfull day and place to schawe thar chartis." *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 4, § 9, edit. folio, 1814.

[6] "On the 8th June 1425, James issued a commission to Henry, bishop of St. Andrews, authorising him to resume all alienations from the Church, with power of anathema, and orders to all justiciaries to assist. This curious paper is preserved in Harl. Ms. 4637, vol. iii. f. 189." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 116. Archbishop Spottiswoode, delighted with his policy, calls him a "good king," and says that he built for the Carthusians "a beautiful monastery at Perth, bestowing large revenues upon the same." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 113. And Keith assures us that, on one occasion, James I. went so far as to give to one of the bishops "a silver cross, in which was contained a bit of the wooden cross, on which the apostle St. Andrew had been crucified." *Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1755, 4to, p. 67.

[7] Compare *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. pp. 153-156, with *Pinkerton's History*, vol. i. pp. 113-115. Between these two authorities there is a slight, but unimportant, discrepancy.

[8] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 95-98; *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 75; and an imperfect narrative in *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, p. 35.

[9] Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 126), under the year 1433, says: "In the midst of his labours for the pacification of his northern dominions, and his anxiety for the suppression of heresy, the king never forgot his great plan for the diminution of the exorbitant power of the nobles." See also p. 84. "It was a principle of this enterprising monarch, in his schemes for the recovery and consolidation of his own power, to cultivate the friendship of the clergy, whom he regarded

he overrated his own power. Like nearly all politicians, he exaggerated the value of political remedies. The legislator and the magistrate may, for a moment, palliate an evil; they can never work a cure. General mischiefs depend upon general causes, and these are beyond their art. The symptoms of the disease they can touch, while the disease itself baffles their efforts, and is too often exasperated by their treatment. In Scotland, the power of the nobles was a cruel malady, which preyed on the vitals of the nation; but it had long been preparing; it was a chronic disorder; and, having worked into the general habit, it might be removed by time, it could never be diminished by violence. On the contrary, in this, as in all matters, whenever politicians attempt great good, they invariably inflict great harm. Overaction on one side produces reaction on the other, and the balance of the fabric is disturbed. By the shock of conflicting interests, the scheme of life is made insecure. New animosities are kindled, old ones are embittered, and the natural jar and discordance are aggravated, simply because the rulers of mankind cannot be brought to understand, that, in dealing with a great country, they have to do with an organization so subtle, so extremely complex, and withal so obscure, as to make it highly probable, that whatever they alter in it, they will alter wrongly, and that while their efforts to protect or to strengthen its particular parts are extremely hazardous, it does undoubtedly possess within itself a capacity of repairing its injuries, and that to bring such capacity into play, there is merely required that time and freedom which the interference of powerful men too often prevents it from enjoying.

Thus it was in Scotland, in the fifteenth century. The attempts of James I. failed, because they were particular measures directed against general evils. Ideas and associations, generated by a long course of events, and deeply seated in the public mind, had given to the aristocracy immense power; and if every noble in Scotland had been put to death, if all their castles had been razed to the ground, and all their estates confiscated, the time would unquestionably have come, when their successors would have been more influential than ever, because the affection of their retainers and dependents would be increased by the injustice that had been perpetrated. For, every passion excites its opposite. Cruelty to-day, produces sympathy to-morrow. A hatred of injustice contributes more than any other principle to correct the inequalities of life, and to maintain the

as a counterpoise to the nobles." Lord Somerville (*Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. i. p. 173) says, that the superior nobility were "never or seldome called to counsell dureing this king's reign."

balance of affairs. It is this loathing at tyranny, which, by stirring to their inmost depth the warmest feelings of the heart, makes it impossible that tyranny should ever finally succeed. This, in sooth, is the noble side of our nature. This is that part of us, which, stamped with a godlike beauty, reveals its divine origin, and, providing for the most distant contingencies, is our surest guarantee that violence shall never ultimately triumph; that, sooner or later, despotism shall always be overthrown; and that the great and permanent interests of the human race shall never be injured by the wicked counsels of unjust men.

In the case of James I., the reaction came sooner than might have been expected; and, as it happened in his lifetime, it was a retribution, as well as a reaction. For some years, he continued to oppress the nobles with impunity;[10] but, in 1436, they turned upon him, and put him to death, in revenge for the treatment to which he had subjected many of them.[11] Their power now rose as suddenly as it had fallen. In the south of Scotland, the Douglases were supreme,[12] and the earl of that family possessed revenues about equal to those of the Crown.[13] And, to show that his authority was equal to his wealth, he, on the marriage of James II., in 1449, appeared at the nuptials with a train composed of five thousand followers.[14] These were his own retainers, armed and resolute men, bound to obey any command he might issue to them. Not, indeed, that compulsion was needed on the part of a Scotch noble to secure the obedience of his own people. The servitude was a willing one, and was essential to the national manners. Then, and long afterwards, it was discreditable, as well as unsafe, not to belong to a great clan; and those who were so unfortunate as

[10] Compare *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 263, with *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. x. p. 286.

[11] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 157, 158.

[12] Lindsay of Pitscottie (*Chronicles*, vol. i. p. 2) says, that directly after the death of James I., "Alexander, Earle of Douglas, being uerie potent in kine and friendis, contemned all the kingis officeris, in respect of his great puissance." The best account I have seen of the rise of the Douglases, is in Chalmers' learned, but ill-digested, work, *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 579-583.

[13] In 1440, "the chief of that family had revenues, perhaps equivalent to those of the Scottish monarch." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 192.

[14] "It may give us some idea of the immense power possessed at this period by the Earl of Douglas, when we mention, that on this chivalrous occasion, the military suite by which he was surrounded, and at the head of which he conducted the Scottish champions to the lists, consisted of a force amounting to five thousand men." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 215. The old historian of his family says: "He is not easy to be dealt with; they must have mufles that would catch such a cat. Indeed, he behaved himself as one that thought he would not be in danger of them; he entertained a great family; he rode ever well accompanied when he came in publick; 1000 or 2000 horse were his ordinary train." *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 273, 274, reprinted Edinburgh, 1743.

to be unconnected with any leading family, were accustomed to take the name of some chief, and to secure his protection by devoting themselves to his service.[15]

What the Earl of Douglas was in the south of Scotland, that were the Earls of Crawford and of Ross in the north.[16] Singly they were formidable; united they seemed irresistible. When, therefore, in the middle of the fifteenth century, they actually leagued together, and formed a strict compact against all their common enemies, it was hard to say what limit could be set to their power, or what resource remained to the government, except that of sowing disunion among them.[17]

But, in the mean time, the disposition of the nobles to use force against the Crown, had been increased by fresh violence. Government, instead of being warned by the fate of James I., imitated his unscrupulous acts, and pursued the very policy which had caused his destruction. Because the Douglases were the most powerful of all the great families, it was determined that their chiefs should be put to death; and because they could not be slain by force, they were to be murdered by treachery. In 1440, the Earl of Douglas, a boy of fifteen, and his brother, who was still younger than he, were invited to Edinburgh on a friendly visit to the king. Scarcely had they arrived, when they were seized by order of the chancellor, subjected to a mock trial, declared guilty, dragged to the castle-yard, and the heads of the poor children cut off.[18]

[15] In the seventeenth century, "To be without a chief, involved a kind of disrepute; and those who had no distinct personal position of their own, would find it necessary to become a Gordon or a Crichton, as prudence or inclination might point out." *Burton's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 207. Compare *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 250, on "the protective surname of Douglas;" and *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 252, on the extreme importance attached to the name of Macgregor.

[16] "Men of the greatest puissance and force next the Douglases, that were in Scotland in their times." *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. p. 344. The great power of the Earls of Ross in the north, dates from the thirteenth century. See *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 133, 134, vol. ii. p. 52.

[17] In 1445, the Earl of Douglas concluded "ane offensiue and defensiue league and combinatione against all, none excepted, (not the king himselue), with the Earle of Crawfurd, and Donald, Lord of the Isles; wich was mutually sealled and subscriued by them three, the 7 day of Marche." *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. p. 173. This comprised the alliance of other noble families. "He maid bandis with the Erle of Craufurd, and with Donald lorde of the Ylis, and Erle of Ross, to take part every ane with other, and with dyvers uther noble men also." *Lesley's History of Scotland*, from 1436 to 1561, p. 18.

[18] An interesting account of this dastardly crime, is given in *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 274-288, where great, but natural, indignation is expressed. On the other hand, Lesley, bishop of Ross, narrates it with a cold-blooded indifference, characteristic of the ill-will which existed between the nobles and the clergy, and which prevented him from regarding the murder of two children as an offence. "And eftir he was set doun to the burd with the governour, chancellour, and otheris noble men present, the melt was sudantlie removed, and ane

Considering the warm feelings of attachment which the Scotch entertained for their chiefs, it is difficult to overrate the consequences of this barbarous murder, in strengthening a class it was hoped to intimidate. But this horrible crime was committed by the government only, and it occurred during the king's minority: the next assassination was the work of the king himself. In 1452, the Earl of Douglas[19] was, with great show of civility, requested by James II. to repair to the court then assembled at Stirling. The earl hesitated, but James overcame his reluctance by sending to him a safe-conduct with the royal signature, and issued under the great seal.[20] The honour of the king being pledged, the fears of Douglas were removed. He hastened to Stirling, where he was received with every distinction. The evening of his arrival, the king, after supper was over, broke out into reproaches against him, and, suddenly drawing his dagger, stabbed him. Gray then struck him with a battle-ax, and he fell dead on the floor, in presence of his sovereign, who had lured him to court, that he might murder him with impunity.[21]

The ferocity of the Scotch character, which was the natural result of the ignorance and poverty of the nation, was, no doubt, one cause, and a very important one, of the commission of such crimes as these, not secretly, but in the open light of day, and by the highest men in the State. It cannot, however, be denied, that another cause was, the influence of the clergy, whose interest it was to humble the nobles, and who were by no means scrupulous as to the means that they employed.[22] As the crown became more alienated from the aristocracy, it united itself still closer with the Church. In 1443, a statute was enacted, the object of which was, to secure ecclesiastical property from the

bullis heid presented, quhilk in thay daies was ane signe of executione; and incontinent the said erle, David his broder, and Malcolme Fleming of Cummernald, wer heidit before the castell yett of Edenburgh." *Lesley's History*, p. 16.

[19] The cousin of the boys who were murdered in 1440. See *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 297, 316.

[20] "With assurance under the broad seal." *Hume's House of Douglas*, vol. i. p. 351. See also *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, Edinb. 1777, pp. 246, 322, 323.

[21] *Hume's House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 351-353. The king "stabbed him in the breast with a dagger. At the same instant Patrick Gray struck him on the head with a pole-ax. The rest that were attending at the door, hearing the noise, entred, and fell also upon him; and, to show their affection to the king, gave him every man his blow after he was dead." Compare *Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 103. "He strak him throw the bodie thairwith; and thairefter the guard, hearing the tumult within the chamber, ruschéd in and slew the earle out of hand."

[22] In *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*, pp. 99, 100, the alienation of the nobles from the Church is dated "from the middle of the fifteenth century;" and this is perhaps correct in regard to general dislike, though the movement may be clearly traced fifty years earlier.

attacks made upon it by the nobles.[23] And although, in that state of society, it was easier to pass laws than to execute them, such a measure indicated the general policy of the government, and the union between it and the Church. Indeed, as to this, no one could be mistaken.[24] For nearly twenty years, the avowed and confidential adviser of the Crown was Kennedy, bishop of Saint Andrews, who retained power until his death, in 1466, during the minority of James III.[25] He was the bitter enemy of the nobles, against whom he displayed an unrelenting spirit, which was sharpened by personal injuries; for the Earl of Crawford had plundered his lands, and the Earl of Douglas had attempted to seize him, and had threatened to put him into irons.[26] The mildest spirit might well have been roused by this; and as James II., when he assassinated Douglas, was more influenced by Kennedy than by any one else, it is probable that the bishop was privy to that foul transaction. At all events, he expressed no disapprobation of it; and when, in consequence of the murder, the Douglases and their friends rose in open rebellion, Kennedy gave to the king a crafty and insidious counsel, highly characteristic of the cunning of his profession. Taking up a bundle of arrows, he showed James,

[23] See *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 33, edit. folio, 1814; respecting the "statute of haly kirk quhilk is oppressit and hurt."

[24] In 1449, James II., "with that affectionate respect for the clergy, which could not fail to be experienced by a prince who had successfully employed their support and advice to escape from the tyranny of his nobles, granted to them some important privileges." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 226. See also p. 309. Among many similar measures, he conceded to the monks of Paisley some important powers of jurisdiction that belonged to the Crown. Charter, 13th January 1451, 2, in *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 823.

[25] *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 188, 209, 247, 254. *Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, p. 19. *Ridpath's Border History*, p. 298. *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 101. In *Somerville's Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. i. p. 213, it is stated, under the year 1452, that fear of the great nobles "had once possest his majestie with some thoughts of going out of the countrey; but that he was perswaded to the contrary by Bishop Kennedie, then Arch-bishop of Saint Andrewes, whose counsell at that tyme and eftirward, in most things he followed, which at length proved to his majesties great advantage." See also *Lesley's History*, p. 23. "The king wes put to sic a sharp point, that he wes determinit to haif left the realme, and to haif passit in Fraunce by sey, were not that bischop James Kennedy of St. Androis causit him to tarrye."

[26] "His lands were plundered by the Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie of Inveraritie, at the instigation of the Earl of Douglas, who had farther instructed them to seize, if possible, the person of the bishop, and to put him in irons." Memoir of Kennedy, in *Chambers' Lives of Scotchmen*, vol. iii. p. 307, Glasgow, 1834. "Sed Kennedus et ætate, et consilio, ac proinde auctoritate cæteros anteibat. In eum potissimum ira est versa. Crafordiæ comes et Alexander Ogilvius conflato satis magno exercitu, agros ejus in Fifa latè populati, dum prædam magis, quam causam sequuntur, omni genere cladis in vicina etiam prædia grassati, nemine congredi auso pleni prædarum in Angusiam revertuntur. Kennedus ad sua arma conversus comitem Crafordiæ disceptationem juris fugientem diris ecclesiasticis est prosecutus." *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xi. p. 306.

that when they were together, they were not to be broken; but that, if separated, they were easily destroyed. Hence he inferred, that the aristocracy should be overthrown by disuniting the nobles, and ruining them one by one.[27]

In this he was right, so far as the interests of his own order were concerned; but, looking at the interest of the nation, it is evident that the power of the nobles, notwithstanding their gross abuse of it, was, on the whole, beneficial, since it was the only barrier against despotism. The evil they actually engendered, was indeed immense. But they kept off other evils, which would have been worse. By causing present anarchy, they secured future liberty. For, as there was no middle class, there were only three orders in the commonwealth; namely, government, clergy, and nobles. The two first being united against the last, it is certain that if they had won the day, Scotland would have been oppressed by the worst of all yokes, to which a country can be subjected. It would have been ruled by an absolute king and an absolute Church, who, playing into each other's hands, would have tyrannized over a people, who, though coarse and ignorant, still loved a certain rude and barbarous liberty, which it was good for them to possess, but which, in the face of such a combination, they would most assuredly have forfeited.

Happily, however, the power of the nobles was too deeply rooted in the popular mind to allow of this catastrophe. In vain did James III. exert himself to discourage them,[28] and to elevate their rivals, the clergy.[29] Nothing could shake their

[27] "This hoie bischop schew ane similitud to the king, quhilk might bring him to experience how he might invaid againes the Douglass, and the rest of the conspiratouris. This bischop tuik furth ane great scheife of arrowes knitt togidder werrie fast, and desired him to put thame to his knie, and break thame. The king said it was not possible, becaus they war so many, and so weill fastened togidder. The bischop answeired, it was werrie true, bot yitt he wold latt the king sea how to break thame: and pulled out on be on, and tua be tua, quhill he had brokin thame all; then said to the king, 'Yea most doe with the conspiratouris in this manner, and thair complices that are risen againes yow, quho are so many in number, and so hard knit togidder in conspiracie againes yow, that yea cannot gett thame brokin togidder. Butt be sick pratick as I have schowin yow be the similitud of thir arrowes, that is to say, yea must conqueis and break lord by lord be thamselffis, for yea may not deall with thame all at once.'" *Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 172, 173.

[28] "He wald nocht suffer the noblemen to come to his presence, and to governe the realme be thair counsell." *Lesley's History of Scotland*, p. 48. "Wald nocht use the counsall of his nobillis." p. 55. "Excluding the nobility." *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 33. "The nobility seeing his resolution to ruin them." p. 46. "Hes conteming his nobility." *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. p. 206.

[29] Also to aggrandize them. See, for instance, what "has obtained the name of the golden charter, from the ample privileges it contains, confirmed to Archbishop Shevez by James III. on 9th July 1480." *Grierson's History of Saint Andrews*, p. 58, Cupar, 1838.

authority; and, in 1482, they, seeing the determination of the king, assembled together, and such was their influence over their followers, that they had no difficulty in seizing his person, and imprisoning him in the Castle of Edinburgh.[30] After his liberation, fresh quarrels arose;[31] and in 1488, the principal nobles collected troops, met him in the field, defeated him, and put him to death.[32] He was succeeded by James IV., under whom the course of affairs was exactly the same; that is to say, on one side the nobles, and on the other side the Crown and the Church. Every thing that the king could do to uphold the clergy, he did cheerfully. In 1493, he obtained an act to secure the immunities of the sees of Saint Andrews and of Glasgow, the two most important in Scotland.[33] In 1503, he procured a general revocation of all grants and gifts prejudicial to the Church, whether they had been made by the Parliament or by the Council.[34] And, in 1508, he, by the advice of Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, ventured on a measure of still greater boldness. That able and ambitious prelate induced James to revive against the nobility several obsolete claims, by virtue of which the king could, under certain circumstances, take possession of their estates, and could, in every instance in which the owner held of the Crown, receive nearly the whole of the proceeds during the minority of the proprietor.[35]

[30] "Such was the influence of the aristocracy over their warlike followers, that the king was conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, without commotion or murmur." *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 308.

[31] "The king and his ministers multiplied the insults which they offered to the nobility." . . . . "A proclamation was issued, forbidding any person to appear in arms within the precincts of the court; which, at a time when no man of rank left his own house without a numerous retinue of armed followers, was, in effect, debarring the nobles from all access to the king." . . . . "His neglect of the nobles irritated, but did not weaken them." *History of Scotland*, book i. p. 68, in *Robertson's Works*, edit. London, 1831.

[32] *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. pp. 213, 214; *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xii. p. 358. Lindsay of Pitscottie (*Chronicles*, vol. i. p. 222) says: "This may be ane example to all kingis that cumes heirefter, not to fall from God." . . . . "For, if he had vsed the counsall of his wyse lordis and barrones, he had not cum to sick disparatioun."

[33] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, folio, 1814, vol. ii. p. 232. "That the said abbaceis confirmit be thame sall neid na prouisioun of the court of Rome."

[34] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol ii. p. 240; and the summary of the statute (p. 21), "Revocation of donations, statutis, and all uthir thingis hurtand the croune or hali kirk." In the next year (1504), the king "greatly augmented" the revenues of the bishoprick of Galloway. *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 417.

[35] *Pinkerton's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 63; *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. viii. pp. 135, edit. Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1849. The latter authority states, that "The bishop devysed wayes to King James the Fourth, how he might attaine to great gaine and profit. He advised him to call his barons and all those that held any lands within the realme, to show their evidents by way of recognition; and, if they had not sufficient writings for their warrant, to dispone upon their lands at his pleasure; for the which advice he was greatlie hated. But the king, perceaving the countrie to grudge, agreed easilie with the possessors."

To make such claims was easy; to enforce them was impossible. Indeed, the nobles were at this time rather gaining ground than losing it; and, after the death of James IV., in 1513, they, during the minority of James V., became so powerful, that the regent, Albany, twice threw up the government in despair, and at length abandoned it altogether.[36] He finally quitted Scotland in 1524, and with him the authority of the executive seemed to have vanished. The Douglases soon obtained possession of the person of the king, and compelled Beaton, archbishop of Saint Andrews, the most influential man in the Church, to resign the office of chancellor.[37] The whole command now fell into their hands; they or their adherents filled every office; secular interests predominated, and the clergy were thrown completely into the shade.[38] In 1528, however, an event occurred by which the spiritual classes not only recovered their former position, but gained a preëminence, which, as it turned out, was eventually fatal to themselves. Archbishop Beaton, impatient at proceedings so unfavourable to the Church, organized a conspiracy, by means of which James effected his escape from the Douglases, and took refuge in the castle of Stirling.[39] This sudden reaction was not the real and

[36] The Regency of Albany, little understood by the earlier historians, has been carefully examined by Mr. Tytler, in whose valuable, though too prolix, work, the best account of it will be found. *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 98-160, Edinburgh, 1845. On the hostility between Albany and the nobles, see *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, p. 99; and, on the revival of their power in the north, after the death of James IV., see *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, pp. 114, 115.

[37] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 180-182: "Within a few months, there was not an office of trust or emolument in the kingdom, which was not filled by a Douglas, or by a creature of that house." See also pp. 187, 194; and *Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, pp. 22, 23. Beaton, who was so rudely dispossessed of the chancellorship, that, according to Keith, he was, in 1525, obliged "to lurk among his friends for fear of his life," is mentioned, in the preceding year, as having been the main supporter of Albany's government; "that most hath favoured the Duke of Albany." *State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. p. 97, 4to, 1836.

[38] The complete power of the Douglases lasted from the cessation of Albany's regency to the escape of the king, in 1528. *Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, edit. Edinburgh, 1835, vol. i. pp. 33-35. Compare *Balfour's Annales*, vol. i. p. 257. "The Earle of Angus violentley takes one him the gouerniment, and retanes the king in effecte a prisoner with him; during wich tyme he, the Earle of Lennox, and George Douglas, his auen brother, frely disposses vpone all affaires both of churche and staite."

[39] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 195, 196. The curious work, entitled *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 10, says, "In the zeir of God 1500, tuantie aucht zeiris, the kingis grace by slicht wan away fra the Douglassis." From Stirling, he repaired to Edinburgh, on 6th July 1528, and went to "the busshop of Sainct Andros loegeing." See a letter written on the 18th of July 1528, by Lord Dacre to Wolsey, in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. p. 501, 4to, 1836. Compare a proclamation on 10th September 1528, in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. part i. pp. 138*, 139*, Edinburgh, 4to, 1833. I particularly indicate these documents, because Lindsay of Pitscottie (in his *Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. ii. p.

controlling cause, but it was undoubtedly the proximate cause, of the establishment of Protestantism in Scotland. For, the reins of government now passed into the hands of the Church; and the most influential of the nobles were consequently persecuted, and some of them driven from the country. But, though their political power was gone, their social power remained. They were stripped of their honours and their wealth. They became outcasts, traitors, and beggars. Still, the real foundation of their authority was unshaken, because that authority was the result of a long train of circumstances, and was based on the affections of the people. Therefore it was, that the nobles, even those who were exiled and attainted, were able to conduct an arduous, but eventually a successful, struggle against their enemies. The desire of revenge whetted their exertions, and gave rise to a deadly contest between the Scotch aristocracy and the Scotch Church. This most remarkable conflict was, in some degree, a continuation of that which began early in the fifteenth century. But it was far more bitter; it lasted, without interruption, for thirty-two years; and it was only concluded by the triumph of the nobles, who, in 1560, completely overthrew the Church, and destroyed, almost at a blow, the whole of the Scotch hierarchy.

The events of this struggle, and the vicissitudes to which, during its continuance, both parties were exposed, are related, though somewhat confusedly, in our common histories; it will be sufficient if I indicate the salient points, and, avoiding needless detail, endeavour to throw light on the general movement. The unity of the entire scheme will thus be brought before our minds, and we shall see, that the destruction of the Catholic Church was its natural consummation, and that the last act of that gorgeous drama, so far from being a strained and irregular sequence, was in fit keeping with the whole train of the preceding plot.

When James effected his escape, in 1528, he was a boy of sixteen, and his policy, so far as he can be said to have had any mind of his own, was of course determined by the clergy, to whom he owed his liberty, and who were his natural protectors. His principal adviser was the Archbishop of Saint Andrews; and the important post of chancellor, which, under the Douglases, had been held by a layman, was now conferred on the Archbishop of Glasgow.[40] These two prelates were supreme; while,

335) erroneously places the flight of James in 1527; and he is generally one of the most accurate of the old writers, if indeed he be the author of the work which bears his name.

[40] *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv. p. 501.

at the same time, the Abbot of Holyrood was made treasurer, and the Bishop of Dunkeld was made privy seal.[41] All nobles, and even all followers, of the house of Douglas, were forbidden to approach within twelve miles of the court, under pain of treason.[42] An expedition was fitted out, and sent against the Earl of Caithness, who was defeated and slain.[43] Just before this occurred, the Earl of Angus was driven out of Scotland, and his estates confiscated.[44] An act of attainder was passed against the Douglases.[45] The government, moreover, seized, and threw into prison, the Earl of Bothwell, Home, Maxwell, the two Kerrs, and the barons of Buccleuch, Johnston, and Polwarth.[46]

All this was vigorous enough, and was the consequence of the Church recovering her power. Other measures, equally decisive, were preparing. In 1531, the king deprived the Earl of Crawford of most of his estates, and threw the Earl of Argyle into prison.[47] Even those nobles who had been inclined to follow him, he now discouraged. He took every opportunity of treating them with coldness, while he filled the highest offices with their rivals, the clergy.[48] Finally, he, in 1532, aimed a

[41] "Archibald was depryvit of the thesaurarie, and placit thairin Robert Cairncorse, abbot of Halyrudhous. And als was tane fra the said Archibald the privie seill, and was givin to the bischope of Dunkell." *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 11.

[42] Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 196) says: "His first act was to summon a council, and issue a proclamation, that no lord or follower of the house of Douglas should dare to approach within *six* miles of the court, under pain of treason." For this, no authority is cited; and the historian of the Douglas family distinctly states, "within *twelve* miles of the king, under pain of death." *Hume's House of Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 99. See also *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 10: "that nane of thame nor thair familiaris cum neir the king be tuelf myllis." The reason was, that "the said kingis grace haid greit suspicioun of the temporall lordis, becaus thaj favourit sum pairt the Douglassis." *Diurnal*, p. 12.

[43] "The Erle of Caithnes and fyve hundreth of his men wes slayne an drownit in the see." *Lesley's History of Scotland*, p. 141.

[44] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 203, 204.

[45] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 324, edit. folio, 1814.

[46] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 207.

[47] *Tytler*, vol. iv. p. 212.

[48] "His preference of the clergy to the temporal lords disgusted these proud chiefs." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 230. See also p. 236. His reasons are stated by himself, in a curious letter, which he wrote so late as 1541, to Henry VIII. "We persaif," writes James, "be zoure saidis writingis yat Ze ar informyt yat yair suld be sum thingis laitlie attemptat be oure kirkmen to oure hurte and skaith, and contrar oure mynde and plesure. We can nocht understand, quhat suld move Zou to belief the samyn, assuring Zou *We have nevir fund bot faithfull and trew obedience of yame at all tymes*, nor yai seik nor attemptis nouthir jurisdictioun nor previlegijs, forthir nor yai have usit sen the first institutioun of the Kirk of Scotland, quhilk We may nocht apoun oure conscience alter nor change in the respect We have to the honour and faith of God and Halikirk, and douttis na inconvenient be yame to come to Ws and oure realme yerthrou; for sen the Kirk wes first institute in our realme, the stait yairof hes nevir failzeit, bot *hes remanyt evir obedient to oure progenitouris, and in our tyme mair thankefull to Ws, nor evir yai wer of before*." This letter, which, in several points of view, is worth reading, will be found in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. pp. 188-190, 4to, 1836.

deadly blow at their order, by depriving them of a large part of the jurisdiction which they were wont to exercise in their own country, and to the possession of which they owed much of their power. At the instigation of the Archbishop of Glasgow, he established what was called the College of Justice, in which suits were to be decided, instead of being tried, as heretofore, by the barons, at home, in their castles. It was ordered that this new tribunal should consist of fifteen judges, eight of whom must be ecclesiastics; and, to make the intention still more clear, it was provided that the president should invariably be a clergyman.[49]

This gave the finishing touch to the whole, and it, taken in connexion with previous measures, exasperated the nobles almost to madness. Their hatred of the clergy became uncontrollable; and, in their eagerness for revenge, they not only threw themselves into the arms of England, and maintained a secret understanding with Henry VIII., but many of them went even further, and showed a decided leaning towards the principles of the Reformation. As the enmity between the aristocracy and the Church grew more bitter, just in the same proportion did the desire to reform the Church become more marked. The love of innovation was encouraged by interested motives, until, in the course of a few years, an immense majority of the nobles adopted extreme Protestant opinions; hardly caring what heresy they embraced, so long as they were able, by its aid, to damage a Church from which they had recently received the greatest injuries, and with which they and their progenitors had been engaged in a contest of nearly a hundred and fifty years.[50]

In the mean time, James V. united himself closer than ever with the hierarchy. In 1534, he gratified the Church, by personally assisting at the trial of some heretics, who were brought before the bishops and burned.[51] The next year, he was offered,

[49] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 212, 213, and *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, 4to, 1788, p. 468: "fifteen ordinary judges, seven churchmen, seven laymen, and a president, whom it behoved to be a churchman." The statute, as printed in the folio edition of 1814 (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 335), says, "xiiij psouñs half spūale half temporall w^t ane president." Mr. Lawson (*Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1836, p. 81) supposes that it was the Archbishop of St. Andrews who advised the erection of this tribunal.

[50] Keith, who evidently does not admire this part of the history of his country, says, under the year 1546, "Several of our nobility found it their temporal interest, as much as their spiritual, to sway with the new opinions as to religious matters." *Keith's Affairs of Church and State*, vol. i. pp. 112, 113. Later, and with still more bluntness: "The noblemen wanted to finger the patrimony of the kirkmen." vol. iii. p. 11.

[51] "In the month of August (1534), the bishops having gotten fitt opportunitie, renewed their battell aganest Jesus Christ. David Stratilon, a gentelman of the House of Lawrestoune, and Mr. Norman Gowrlay, was brought to judgement in the Abby of Halyrudhouse. The king himself, all cloathed with reid, being present,

and he willingly accepted, the title of Defender of the Faith, which was transferred to him from Henry VIII.; that king being supposed to have forfeited it by his impiety.[52] At all events, James well deserved it. He was a stanch supporter of the Church, and his privy-council was chiefly composed of ecclesiastics, as he deemed it dangerous to admit laymen to too large a share in the government.[53] And, in 1538, he still further signalized his policy, by taking for his second wife Mary of Guise; thus establishing an intimate relation with the most powerful Catholic family in Europe, whose ambition, too, was equal to their power, and who made it their avowed object to uphold the Catholic faith, and to protect it from those rude and unmannerly invasions which were now directed against it in most parts of Europe.[54]

This was hailed by the Church as a guarantee for the intentions of the king. And so indeed it proved to be. David Beaton, who negotiated the marriage, became the chief adviser of James during the rest of his reign. He was made Archbishop of Saint Andrews in 1539,[55] and, by his influence, a persecution hotter than any yet known, was directed against the Protestants. Many of them escaped into England,[56] where they swelled the

grait pains war taken upon David Stratoun to move him to recant and burn his bill; bot he, ever standing to his defence, was in end adjudged to the fire. He asked grace at the king. The bishops answred proudlie, that 'the king's hands war bound, and that he had no grace to give to such as were by law condemned.' So was he, with Mr. Norman, after dinner, upon the 27th day of Agust, led to a place beside the Rude of Greenside, between Leth and Edinbrug, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be striken with terrour and feare." *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. part i. p. 210*. Also *Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 106, 107.

[52] "It appears, by a letter in the State-paper Office, that Henry remonstrated against this title being given to James." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 223. See also p. 258.

[53] In 1535, "his privy council were mostly ecclesiastics." *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 222. And Sir Ralph Sadler, during his embassy to Scotland in 1539-40, writes: "So that the king, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here; they be never out of the king's ear. And if they smell any thing that in the least point may touch them, or that the king seem to be content with any such thing, straight they inculk to him, how catholic a prince his father was, and feed him both with fair words and many, in such wise as by those policies they lead him (having also the whole governance of his affairs) as they will." *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, Edinb., 1809, 4to, vol. i. p. 47.

[54] *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 128. *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 22. The Reverend Mr. Kirkton pronounces that the new queen was "ane egge of the bloody nest of Guise." *Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland*, edited by Sharpe, Edinburgh, 1817, 4to, p. 7.

[55] "At his return home, he was made coadjutor, and declared future successor to his uncle in the primacy of St. Andrews, in which see he came to be fully invested upon the death of his uncle the next year, 1539." *Keith's Catalogue of Scotch Bishops*, pp. 23, 24.

[56] *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 20. *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 139. *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 178. *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. p. 100.

number of the exiles, who were waiting till the time was ripe to take a deadly revenge. They, and their adherents at home, coalesced with the disaffected nobles, particularly with the Douglases,[57] who were by far the most powerful of the Scotch aristocracy, and who were connected with most of the great families, either by old associations, or by the still closer bond of the interests which they all had in reducing the power of the Church.[58]

At this juncture, the eyes of men were turned towards the Douglases, whom Henry VIII. harboured at his court, and who were now maturing their plans.[59] Though they did not yet dare to return to Scotland, their spies and agents reported to them all that was done, and preserved their connexions at home. Feudal covenants, bonds of manrent, and other arrangements, which, even if illegal, it would have been held disgraceful to renounce, were in full force; and enabled the Douglases to rely with confidence on many of the most powerful nobles, who were, moreover, disgusted at the predominance of the clergy, and who welcomed the prospect of any change which was likely to lessen the authority of the Church.[60]

[57] Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 241) says, that the cruelties of 1539 forced "many of the persecuted families to embrace the interests of the Douglases."

[58] It is asserted of the Douglases, that, early in the sixteenth century, their "alliances and power were equal to one-half of the nobility of Scotland." *Brown's History of Glasgow*, vol. i. p. 8. See also, on their connexions, *Hume's House of Douglas*, vol. i. pp. xix. 252, 298, vol. ii. p. 293.

[59] Henry VIII., "in the year 1532, sought it directly, among the conditions of peace, that the Douglas, according to his promise, should be restored. For King Henry's own part, he entertained them with all kind of beneficence and honour, and made both the Earl and Sir George of his Privy Council." *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. pp. 105, 106. James was very jealous of any communication taking place between the Douglases and his other subjects; but it was impossible for him to prevent it. See a letter which he wrote to Sir Thomas Erskine (in *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. p. 193, Aberdeen, 1842, 4to), beginning, "I commend me rycht hartly to yow, and weit ye that it is murmuryt hyr that ye sould a spolkyn with Gorge and Archebald Dougles in Ingland, quhylk wase again my command and your promys quhan we departyt." See also the cases of Lady Trakware, John Mathesone, John Hume, and others, in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. i. part i. pp. 161*, 177*, 202*, 243*, 247*.

[60] "The Douglases were still maintained with high favour and generous allowances in England; their power, although nominally extinct, was still far from being destroyed; their spies penetrated into every quarter, followed the king to France, and gave information of his most private motions; their feudal covenants and bands of manrent still existed, and bound many of the most potent nobility to their interest; whilst the vigour of the king's government, and his preference of the clergy to the temporal lords, disgusted these proud chiefs, and disposed them to hope for a recovery of their influence from any change which might take place." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 229, 230. These bonds of manrent, noticed by Tytler, were among the most effective means by which the Scotch nobles secured their power. Without them, it would have been difficult for the aristocracy to have resisted the united force of the Crown and the Church. On this account, they deserve especial attention. Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 824) could find no bond of manrent earlier than 1354; but in Lord Somerville's *Memorie of the Somer-*

With such a combination of parties, in a country where, there being no middle class, the people counted for nothing, but followed wherever they were led, it is evident that the success or failure of the Reformation in Scotland was simply a question of the success or failure of the nobles. They were bent on revenge. The only doubt was, as to their being strong enough to gratify it. Against them, they had the Crown and the Church. On their side, they had the feudal traditions, the spirit of clanship, the devoted obedience of their innumerable retainers, and, what was equally important, that love of names, and of family associations, for which Scotland is still remarkable, but which, in the sixteenth century, possessed an influence difficult to exaggerate.

The moment for action was now at hand. In 1540, the government, completely under the control of the clergy, caused fresh laws to be enacted against the Protestants, whose interests were by this time identical with those of the nobles. By these statutes, no one, even suspected of heresy, could for the future hold any office; and all Catholics were forbidden to harbour, or to show favour to, persons who professed the new opinions.[61] The clergy, now flushed with conquest, and greedy

villes, edit. Edinburgh, 1815, vol. i. p. 74, one is mentioned in 1281. This is the earliest instance I have met with; and they did not become very common till the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Compare *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 19. *Somerville's Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. i. p. 234. *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 83. *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, pp. 142, 143. *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 186. *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands*, p. 126. *Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i. p. 55. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. ii. pp. cvi. 93, 251, vol. iv. pp. xlviii. 179. As these covenants were extremely useful in maintaining the balance of power, and preventing the Scotch monarchy from becoming despotic, acts of parliament were of course passed against them. See one in 1457, and another in 1555, respecting "lige" and "bandis of manrent and mantenance," in *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, folio, 1814, vol. ii. pp. 50, 495. Such enactments being opposed to the spirit of the age, and adverse to the exigencies of society, produced no effect upon the general practice, though they caused the punishment of several individuals. Manrent was still frequent until about 1620 or 1630, when the great social revolution was completed, by which the power of the aristocracy was subordinated to that of the Church. Then, the change of affairs effected, without difficulty, and indeed spontaneously, what the legislature had vainly attempted to achieve. The nobles, gradually sinking into insignificance, lost their spirit, and ceased to resort to those contrivances by which they had long upheld their order. Bonds of manrent became every year less common, and it is doubtful if there is any instance of them after 1661. See *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. pp. 32, 33. It is, however, so dangerous to assert a negative, that I do not wish to rely on this date, and some few cases may exist later; but if so, they are very few, and it is certain that, speaking generally, the middle of the seventeenth century is the epoch of their extinction.

[61] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 370, 371. "That na mañ quhatsūeuir stait or conditiouñ he be luge ressauve cherish nor favor ony heretike." . . . . "And alswa that na persouñ that hes bene suspectit of heresie howbeit thai be ressauit to pēnance and grace sall in this realme exers haif nor brouk ony honest estait degre office nor judicator spūall nor tēporale in burgh nor w^t^out nor na salbe admittit to be of our counsale."

for the destruction of their ancient rivals, proceeded to still further extremities. So unrelenting was their malice, that, in that same year, they presented to James a list containing the names of upwards of three hundred members of the Scotch aristocracy, whom they formally accused as heretics, who ought to be put to death, and whose estates they recommended the king to confiscate.[62]

These hot and vindictive men little knew of the storm which they were evoking, and which was about to burst on their heads, and cover them and their Church with confusion. Not that we have reason to believe that a wiser conduct would have ultimately saved the Scotch hierarchy. On the contrary, the probability is, that their fate was sealed ; for the general causes which governed the entire movement, had been so long at work, that, at this period, it would have been hardly possible to have baffled them. But, even if we admit as certain, that the Scotch clergy were doomed, it is also certain that their violence made their fall more grievous, by exasperating the passions of their adversaries. The train, indeed, was laid ; their enemies had supplied the materials, and all was ready to explode ; but it was themselves who at last applied the match, and sprung the mine to their own destruction.

In 1542, the nobles, seeing that the Church and the Crown were bent on their ruin, took the most decisive step on which they had yet ventured, and peremptorily refused to obey James in making war upon the English. They knew that the war in which they were desired to participate, had been fomented by the clergy, with the twofold object of stopping all communication with the exiles, and of checking the introduction of heretical opinions.[63] Both these intentions they resolved to frustrate,

[62] Lindsay of Pitscottie (*Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 383) says, that they "devysed to put ane discord and variance betwixt the lordis and gentlmen with thair prince; for they delaited, and gave vp to the king in writt, to the number of thrittie scoir of earles, lordis, and barroues, gentlmen and craftismen, that is, as thei alledgit, wer all heretickis, and leived not after the Pope's lawis, and ordinance of the hollie kirk; quhilk his grace sould esteme as ane capitall cryme, to ony man that did the same" . . . . "all thair landis, rentes, guidis, and geir apperteanis propperlie to your grace, for thair contempt of our hollie father the Pope, and his lawis, and high contempt of your grace's authoritie." This document was found among the king's papers after his death, when it appeared that, of the six hundred names on the list, more than three hundred belonged to the principal nobility: "Eum timorem auxerunt codicilli post regis interitum reperti, e quibus supra trecentorum è prima nobilitate nomina continebantur." *Buchanan*, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xv. p. 424. Compare *Sadler's State Papers*, 1809, vol. i. p. 94; and *Watson's Historicall Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, 1657, p. 22. According to Watson, it "was called the bloudy scroll."

[63] In the autumn of 1542, James "was encouraged by the clergy to engage in a war against King Henry, who both assured him of victory, since he fought against an heretical prince, and advanced an annuity of 50,000 crowns for prosecuting the

and, being assembled on the field, they declared with one voice that they would not invade England. Threats and persuasions were equally useless. James, stung with vexation, returned home, and ordered the army to be disbanded. Scarcely had he retired, when the clergy attempted to rally the troops, and to induce them to act against the enemy. A few of the peers, ashamed at what seemed a cowardly desertion of the king, appeared willing to march. The rest, however, refused; and, while they were in this state of doubt and confusion, the English, taking them unawares, suddenly fell upon their disorderly ranks, utterly routed them, and made a large number prisoners. In this disgraceful action, ten thousand Scotch troops fled before three hundred cavalry.[64] The news being brought to James, while he was still smarting from the disobedience of the nobles, was too much for his proud and sensitive mind. He reeled under the double shock; a slow fever wasted his strength; he sunk into a long stupor; and, refusing all comfort, he died in December 1542, leaving the Crown to his infant daughter, Mary, during whose reign the great contest between the aristocracy and the Church was to be finally decided.[65]

The influence of the nobles was increased by the death of James V., and yet more by the bad repute into which the clergy fell for having instigated a war, of which the result was so disgraceful.[66] Their party was still further strengthened by the exiles, who, as soon as they heard the glad tidings, prepared to

war." *Crawfurd's History of the Shire of Renfrew*, 1782, 4to, part i. p. 48. Compare, in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 154, a letter written, in 1539, by Norfolk to Cromwell: "By diverse other waies I am advertised that the clergie of Scotlande be in such feare that their king shold do theire, as the kinges highnes hath done in this realme, that they do their best to bring their master to the warr; and by many waies I am advertised that a great parte of the temporaltie there wold their king shold followe our insample, wich I pray God yeve hym grace to come unto." Even after the battle of Solway, the policy of the clergy was notoriously the same. "And undoubtedlie, the kyrkemen labor, by all the meanes they can, to empeche the unitie and establishment of thiese two realmes; uppon what groundes ye can easelie conjecture." Letter from Sadler to Parr, dated Edinburgh, 27th March 1543, in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 271, 4to, 1836.

[64] "Ten thousand Scottish troops fled at the sight of three hundred English cavalry, with scarce a momentary resistance." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 264.

[65] The best account of these events will be found in *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 260-267. I have also consulted *Ridpath's Border History*, pp. 372, 373. *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. pp. 207-209. *Lesley's History*, pp. 163-166. *Lindsay of Pitscottie's Chronicles*, vol. ii. pp. 399-406. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 145-152. *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xiv. pp. 420, 421.

[66] "This defeat being so very dishonourable, especially to the clergy, who stirred up the king to that attempt, and promised him great success from it; and there being such a visible evidence of the anger of God, fighting by his providence against them, all men were struck with fear and astonishment; the bishops were ashamed to show their faces for a time." *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, reprinted, Edinburgh, 1840, p. 30.

leave England.[67] Early in 1543, Angus and Douglas returned to Scotland,[68] and were soon followed by other nobles, most of whom professed to be Protestants, though, as the result clearly proved, their Protestantism was inspired by a love of plunder and of revenge. The late king had, in his will, appointed Cardinal Beaton to be guardian of the queen, and governor of the realm.[69] Beaton, though an unprincipled man, was very able, and was respected as the head of the national church; he being Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and primate of Scotland. The nobles, however, at once arrested him,[70] deprived him of his regency, and put in his place the Earl of Arran, who, at this time, affected to be a zealous Protestant, though, on a fitting occasion, he afterwards changed his opinions.[71] Among the supporters of the new creed, the most powerful were the Earl of Angus and the Douglases. They were now freed from a proscription of fifteen years; their

[67] We may readily believe the assertion of an old chronicler, that "the nobilitie did not greatlie take his death grievouslie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small few (for avoiding his displeasure) to flie into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enemie than to his anger." *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 210.

[68] *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. p. 111.

[69] It has been often said, that this will was forged; but for such an assertion I cannot find the slightest evidence, except the declaration of Arran (*Sadler's State Papers*, Edinburgh, 1809, vol. i. p. 138), and the testimony, if testimony it can be called, of Scotch historians, who do not profess to have examined the handwriting, and who, being themselves Protestants, seem to suppose that the fact of a man being a cardinal, qualifies him for every crime. There is no doubt that Beaton was thoroughly unprincipled, and therefore was capable of the forgery. Still, we have no proof; and the will is such as we might have expected from the king In regard to Arran, his affirmation is not worth the paper it is written on: for he hated Beaton; he was himself very unscrupulous; and he succeeded to the post which Beaton had to vacate on the ground that the will was forged. If such circumstances do not disqualify a witness, some of the best-established principles of evidence are false. The reader who cares to look further into this subject, may compare, in favour of the will being forged, *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xv. p. 422, Abredoniæ, 1762; *Knox's History of the Reformation*, edit. Laing, Edinburgh, 1846, vol. i. pp. 91, 92; *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire*, second edition, 4to, 1860, p. 102; and, in favour of its being genuine, *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1843, vol. i. pp. 304, 305. Some other writers on the subject leave it doubtful: *Tytler's History of Scotland*, 1845, vol. iv. p. 274; *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, 1836, p. 99; and a note in *Keith's Church and State in Scotland*, 1844, vol. i. p. 63.

[70] On the 26th of January 1542-3, "the said cardinall was put in pressoune in Dalkeith." *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 26. See also, respecting his imprisonment, a letter written, on the 16th of March, by Angus and Douglas, in *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 263. He was then in "firmance."

[71] His appointment was confirmed by parliament on the 12th of March. *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 411: "tutor lau'full to the quenis grace and gounour of this realme." He excluded the clergy from power. On 20th March, in the same year, Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Henry VIII., that Sir George Douglas "brought me into the council-chamber, where I found a great number of noblemen and others at a long board, and divers standing, but *not one bishop nor priest among them.* At the upper end of the board sat the governour." *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 78.

attainder was reversed, and their estates and honours were restored to them.[72] It was evident that not only the executive authority, but also the legislative, had passed from the Church to the aristocracy. And they, who had the power, were not sparing in the use of it. Lord Maxwell, one of the most active of their party, had, like most of them, in their zeal against the hierarchy, embraced the principles of the Reformation.[73] In the spring of 1543, he obtained the sanction of the Earl of Arran, the governor of Scotland, for a proposal which he made to the Lords of the Articles, whose business it was to digest the measures to be brought before Parliament. The proposal was, that the people should be allowed to read the Bible in a Scotch or English translation. The clergy arrayed all their force against what they rightly deemed a step full of danger to themselves, as conceding a fundamental principle of Protestantism. But all was in vain. The tide had set in, and was not to be turned. The proposition was adopted by the Lords of the Articles. On their authority, it was introduced into Parliament. It was passed. It received the assent of the government; and, amid the lamentations of the Church, it was proclaimed, with every formality, at the market-cross of Edinburgh.[74]

Scarcely had the nobles thus attained the upper hand, when they began to quarrel among themselves. They were resolved to plunder the Church; but they could not agree as to how the spoil should be shared. Neither could they determine as to the best mode of proceeding; some being in favour of an open and

[72] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 415, 419, 424, 423*; and *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 285.

[73] "Had become a convert to its doctrines." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 286. But he, as well as the other nobles, neither knew nor cared much about doctrines; and he was, moreover, very venal. In April 1543, Sir Ralph Sadler writes to Henry VIII.: "And the lord Maxwell told me apart, 'That, indeed, he lacked silver, and had no way of relief but to your majesty;' which he prayed me to signify unto the same. I asked him what would relieve him? and he said, 300*l.*; 'for the which,' he said, 'as your majesty seemed, when he was with your grace, to have him in more trust and credit than the rest of your majesty's prisoners, so he trusted to do you as good service as any of them; and amongst them they will do you such service, as, if the war succeeded, ye shall make an easy conquest of this realm; as *for his part he shall deliver into your hands, at the entry of your army, the keys of the same on the west marches, being all the strongholds there in his custody.*' I offered him presently to write to my lord of Suffolk for 100*l.* for him, if he would; but he said, 'he would stay till he heard again from your majesty in that behalf.'" *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 165.

[74] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 415, 425. *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 83. Knox, in his *History of the Reformation* (edit. Laing, vol. i. p. 100), archly says, "The cleargy hearto long repugned; butt in the end, convicted by reassonis, *and by multitud of votes in thare contrare*, thei also condiscended; and so, by Act of Parliament, it was maid free to all man and woman to reid the Scriptures in thair awin toung, or in the Engliss toung; and so war all Actes maid in the contrair abolished."

immediate schism, while others wished to advance cautiously, and to temporize with their opponents, that they might weaken the hierarchy by degrees. The more active and zealous section of the nobles were known as the English party,[75] owing to their intimate connexion with Henry VIII., from whom many of them received supplies of money. But, in 1544, war broke out between the two countries, and the clergy, headed by Archbishop Beaton, roused, with such success, the old feelings of national hatred against the English, that the nobles were compelled for a moment to bend before the storm, and to advocate an alliance with France. Indeed, it seemed for a few months as if the Church and the aristocracy had forgotten their old and inveterate hostility, and were about to unite their strength in one common cause.[76]

This, however, was but a passing delusion. The antagonism between the two classes was irreconcilable.[77] In the spring of 1545, the leading Protestant nobles formed a conspiracy to assassinate Archbishop Beaton,[78] whom they hated more than

[75] Or, as Keith calls them, "English lords." *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 80.

[76] In May 1544, the English attacked Scotland, *Tytler's History*, vol. iv. p. 316; and in that same month, the "Anglo-Scottish party" consisted only of the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn, since even "Angus, George Douglas, and their numerous and powerful adherents joined the cardinal." p. 319. As to the part taken by the Scotch clergy, see, in *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 173, a letter to Henry VIII., written on the 1st of May 1543: "And as to the kirk-men, I assure your majesty they seek the war by all the means they can, and do daily entertain the noblemen with money and rewards to sustain the wars, rather than there should be any agreement with your majesty; thinking, verily, that if peace and unity succeed, that they shall be reformed, and lose their glory, which they had rather die, and put all this realm in hazard, than they would forego." See also p. 184, note.

[77] Buchanan records a very curious conversation between the Regent and Douglas, which, as I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I shall transcribe. The exact date of it is not mentioned, but, from the context, it evidently took place in 1544 or 1545. "Ibi cum Prorex suam deploraret solitudinem, et se a nobilitate derelictum quereretur, Duglassius ostendit 'id ipsius culpa fieri, non nobilium, qui et fortunas omnes et vitam ad publicam salutem tuendam conferrent, quorum consilio contempto ad sacrificulorum nutum circumageretur, qui foris imbelles, domi seditiosi, omniumque periculorum expertes alieni laboris fructu ad suas voluptates abuterentur. Ex hoc fonte inter te et proceres facta est suspitio, quæ (quòd neutri alteris fidatis) rebus gerendis maxime est impedimento.'" *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xv. p. 435. Buchanan was, at this time, about thirty-eight years old; and that some such conversation as that which he narrates actually took place, is, I think, highly probable, though the historian may have thrown in some touches of his own. At all events, he was too great a rhetorician to invent what his contemporaries would deem unlikely to happen; so that, from either point of view, the passage is valuable as an evidence of the deep-rooted hostility which the nobles bore towards the Church.

[78] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 337. "The plot is entirely unknown either to our Scottish or English historians; and now, after the lapse of nearly three centuries, has been discovered in the secret correspondence of the State-paper Office." The first suggestion of the murder was in April 1544. See *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 377, and the end of the Preface to vol. iv. But Mr. Tytler and the editor of the *State Papers* appear to have overlooked a still earlier indication

any one else, partly because he was the head of the Church, and partly because he was the ablest and most unscrupulous of their opponents. A year, however, elapsed before their purpose could be effected; and it was not till May 1546, that Lesley, a young baron, accompanied by the Laird of Grange, and a few others, burst into Saint Andrews, and murdered the primate in his own castle.[79]

The horror with which the Church heard of this foul and barbarous deed,[80] may be easily imagined. But the conspirators, nothing daunted, and relying on the support of a powerful party, justified their act, seized the castle of Saint Andrews, and prepared to defend it to the last. And in this resolution they were upheld by a most remarkable man, who now first appeared to public view, and who, being admirably suited to the age in which he lived, was destined to become the most conspicuous character of those troublous times.

That man was John Knox. To say that he was fearless and incorruptible, that he advocated with unflinching zeal what he believed to be the truth, and that he devoted himself with untiring energy to what he deemed the highest of all objects, is only to render common justice to the many noble attributes which he undoubtedly possessed. But, on the other hand, he was stern, unrelenting, and frequently brutal; he was not only callous to human suffering, but he could turn it into a jest, and employ on it the resources of his coarse, though exuberant, humour;[81] and he loved power so inordinately, that, unable to brook the slighest opposition, he trampled on all who

of the coming crime, in *Sadler's Papers*. See, in that collection, vol. i. p. 77, a conversation, held in March 1543, between Sir Ralph Sadler and the Earl of Arran; Sadler being conducted by the Earl of Glencairn. On that occasion, the Earl of Arran used an expression concerning Beaton, the meaning of which Sir Ralph evidently understood. "'By God,' quoth he, 'he shall never come out of prison whilst I may have mine own will, *except it be to his farther mischief*.' I allowed the same well" (replied Sadler), "and said, 'It were pity, but he should receive such reward as his merits did require.'"

[79] *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v. p. 560. *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 42. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 221-223. Lindsay of Pitscottie (*Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 484) relates a circumstance respecting the murder, which is too horrible to mention, and of which it is enough to say, that it consisted of an obscene outrage committed on the corpse of the victim. Though such facts cannot now be published, they are so characteristic of the age, that they ought not to be passed over in complete silence.

[80] Respecting which, two Scotch Protestant historians have expressed themselves in the following terms: "God admonished men, by this judgement, that he will in end be avenged upon tyranns for their crueltie, howsoever they strenthen themselves." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 224. And, whoever considers all the circumstances, "must acknowledge it was a stupendous act of the judgment of the Lord, and that the whole was overruled and guided by Divine Providence." *Stevenson's History of the Church and State of Scotland*, p. 38.

[81] Even the editor of *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, Edinburgh, 1841, p. xxxv., notices "the ill-timed merriment he displays in relating the foul deed" of Beaton's murder.

crossed his path, or stood even for a moment in the way of his ulterior designs.

The influence of Knox in promoting the Reformation, has indeed been grossly exaggerated by historians, who are too apt to ascribe vast results to individual exertions; overlooking those large and general causes, in the absence of which the individual exertion would be fruitless. Still, he effected more than any single man;[82] although the really important period of his life, in regard to Scotland, was in and after 1559, when the triumph of Protestantism was already secure, and when he reaped the benefit of what had been effected during his long absence from his own country. His first effort was a complete failure, and, more than any one of his actions, has injured his reputation. This was the sanction which he gave to the cruel murder of Archbishop Beaton, in 1546. He repaired to the Castle of Saint Andrews; he shut himself up with the assassins; he prepared to share their fate; and, in a work which he afterwards wrote, openly justified what they had done.[83] For this, nothing can excuse him; and it is with a certain sense of satisfied justice that we learn, that, in 1547, the castle being taken by the French, Knox was treated with great severity, and was made work at the galleys, from which he was not liberated till 1549.[84]

During the next five years, Knox remained in England, which he quitted in 1554, and arrived at Dieppe.[85] He then travelled abroad; and did not revisit Scotland till the autumn of 1555, when he was eagerly welcomed by the principal nobles and their adherents.[86] From some cause, however, which has

[82] Shortly before his death, he said, with honest and justifiable pride, "What I have bene to my countrie, albeit, this vnthankfull aige will not knowe, yet the aiges to come wilbe compelled to bear witnes to the treuth." *Bannatyne's Journal*, Edinburgh, 1806, p. 119. Bannatyne was Knox's secretary. It is to be regretted that no good life of Knox should have yet been published. That by M'Crie is an undistinguishing and injudicious panegyric, which, by provoking a reaction of opinion, has damaged the reputation of the great reformer. On the other hand, the sect of Episcopalians in Scotland are utterly blind to the real grandeur of the man, and unable to discern his intense love of truth, and the noble fearlessness of his nature.

[83] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 374, 375. *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, pp. 27, 28. *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 154. *Presbytery Displayed*, 1663, 4to, p. 28. *Shields' Hind let loose*, 1687, pp. 14, 39, 638. In his *History of the Reformation*, edit. Laing, vol. i. pp. 177, 180, he calls it a "godly fact," and says, "These ar the workis of our God;" which, in plain language, is terming the Deity an assassin. But, bad as this is, I agree with M'Crie, that there is no trustworthy evidence for deeming him privy to the murder. Compare, however, *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 42, with *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 364.

[84] *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, pp. 38, 43, 350. *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, 1848, p. 19.

[85] *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, pp. 44, 71.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 99. As to the nobles, who received him, and heard him preach, see p. 102.

not been sufficiently explained, but probably from an unwillingness to play a subordinate part among those proud chiefs, he, in July 1556, again left Scotland, and repaired to Geneva, where he had been invited to take charge of a congregation.[87] He stayed abroad till 1559, by which time the real struggle was almost over; so completely had the nobles succeeded in sapping the foundations of the Church.

For, the course of events having been long prepared, was now rapid indeed. In 1554, the queen dowager had succeeded Arran as regent.[88] She was that Mary of Guise whose marriage with James V. we have noticed as one of the indications of the policy then prevailing. If left alone, she would probably have done little harm;[89] but her powerful and intolerant family exhorted her to suppress the heretics, and, as a natural part of the same scheme, to put down the nobles. By the advice of her brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, she, in 1555, proposed to establish a standing army, to supply the place of the troops, which consisted of the feudal barons and their retainers. Such a force, being paid by the Crown, would have been entirely under its control; but the nobles saw the ulterior design, and compelled Mary to abandon it, on the ground that they and their vassals were able to defend Scotland without further aid.[90] Her next attempt was to consolidate

[87] "Influenced by motives which have never been fully comprehended, he departed to Geneva, where, for a time, he became pastor of a Protestant congregation." *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, 1834, vol. i. p. 193. M'Crie, who sees no difficulty, simply says, "In the month of July 1556, he left Scotland, and, having arrived at Dieppe, he proceeded with his family to Geneva." *Life of Knox*, p. 107.

[88] Knox, in his savoury diction, likens her appointment to putting a saddle on the back of a cow. "She maid Regent in the year of God 1554; and a croune putt upone hir head, als seimlye a sight (yf men had eis), as to putt a sadill upoun the back of ane unrewly kow." I copy this passage from Mr. Laing's excellent edition of *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 242; but in *Watson's Historicall Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, 1657, p. 73, there is a slightly different version. "'As seemly a sight,' saith John Knox, in the new gospel language, 'as to put the saddle upon the back of an unruly *sow*.'"

[89] The Duke of Argyll, in his *Presbytery Examined*, p. 9, calls her "ambitious and intriguing." Not only, however, is she praised by Lesley (*History*, pp. 289, 290), which might have been expected, but even Buchanan does justice to her, in a passage unusually gracious for so Protestant and democratic a writer. "Mors ejus varie mentes hominum affecit. Nam et apud quosdam eorum, quibuscum armis contendit, non mediocre sui desiderium reliquit. Erat enim singulari ingenio prædita, et animo ad æquitatem admodum propenso." *Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvi. p. 487.

[90] *History of Scotland*, book ii. p. 91, in Robertson's Works, 1831. *Tytler's History*, vol. v. pp. 22, 23. It appears, from Lesley (*History*, pp. 254, 255), that some of the nobles were in favour of this scheme, hoping thereby to gain favour. "Albeit sum of the lordis of the nobilitie for pleasour of the quene seamed to aggre thairto for the tyme, yit the barronis and gentill men was nathing content thairwith" .... "affirming that thair foirfatheris and predicessouris had defendit the samyn" (*i. e.* the realm) "mony hundreth yeris, vailyeantlie with thair awin handis."

the interests of the Catholic party, which she effected, in 1558, by marrying her daughter to the dauphin. This increased the influence of the Guises,[91] whose niece, already queen of Scotland, would now, in the ordinary course of affairs, become queen of France. They urged their sister to extreme measures, and promised to assist her with French troops. On the other hand, the nobles remained firm, and prepared for the struggle. In December 1557, several of them had drawn up a covenant, agreeing to stand by each other, and to resist the tyranny with which they were threatened.[92] They now took the name of Lords of the Congregation, and sent forth their agents to secure the subscriptions of those who wished for a reformation of the Church.[93] They, moreover, wrote to Knox, whose style of preaching, being very popular, would, they thought, be useful in stirring up the people to rebellion.[94] He was then in Geneva, and did not arrive in Scotland till May 1559,[95] by which time the result of the impending contest was hardly doubtful, so successful had the nobles been in strengthening their party, and so much reason had they to expect the support of Elizabeth.

Nine days after Knox entered Scotland, the first blow was struck. On the 11th of May 1559, he preached in Perth. After the sermon, a tumult arose, and the people plundered the churches, and pulled down the monasteries.[96] The queen-regent, hastily assembling troops, marched towards the town. But the nobles were on the alert. The Earl of Glencairn joined the Congregation with two thousand five hundred men; and a

[91] "It completed the almost despotic power of the house of Guise." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 27.

[92] This covenant, which marks an important epoch in the history of Scotland, is dated 3d of December 1557. It is printed in *Stevenson's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 47; in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 326, 327; and in *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 273, 274.

[93] In 1558, "the lords of the congregation had sent agents through the kingdom to solicit the subscriptions of those who were friendly to a reformation." *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1848, vol. i. p. 58.

[94] Keith (*Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 82) calls him "a trumpeter of rebellion," which he undoubtedly was, and very much to his credit too, though the courtly bishop imputes it to him as a fault. The Scotch, if it had not been for their rebellious spirit, would long since have lost their liberties.

[95] "He sailed from Dieppe on the 22d of April 1559, and landed safely at Leith in the beginning of May." *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 139. Knox himself says, "the secound of Maij." *History of the Reformation*, edit. Laing, vol. i. p. 318. "He was called home by the noblemen that enterprised the Reformation." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, edit. Russell, vol. ii. p. 180.

[96] *Penny's Traditions of Perth*, p. 310. *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 321-323. *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. i. p. 329; and a spirited narrative in *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvi. pp. 471, 472. Some interesting circumstances are also preserved in *Lesley's History*, pp. 271, 272; but, though Lesley was a contemporary, he erroneously places the riot in 1558. He, moreover, ascribes to Knox language more inflammatory than that which he really used.

treaty was concluded by which both sides agreed to disarm, on condition that no one should be punished for what had already happened.[97] Such, however, was the state of the public mind, that peace was impossible. In a few days, war again broke out; and this time the result was more decisive. The Lords of the Congregation mustered in great force. Perth, Stirling, and Linlithgow, fell into their hands. The queen-regent retreated before them. She evacuated Edinburgh; and, on the 29th of June, the Protestants entered the capital in triumph.[98]

All this was done in seven weeks from the breaking out of the first riot. Both parties were now willing to negotiate, with the view of gaining time; the queen-regent expecting aid from France, the Lords expecting it from England.[99] But the proceedings of Elizabeth being tardy, the Protestants after waiting for some months, determined to strike a decisive blow before the reinforcements arrived. In October, the principal peers, headed by the Duke of Chastelherault, the Earl of Arran, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earl of Glencairn, assembled at Edinburgh. A great meeting was held, of which Lord Ruthven was appointed president, and in which the queen-regent was solemnly suspended from the government, on the ground that she was opposed to "the glory of God, to the liberty of the realm, and to the welfare of the nobles."[100]

[97] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 59, 62, 63. Of the Earl of Glencairn, Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 485) says, that he was a "religious ruffian, who enjoyed pensions, from Henry VIII., for injuring the country of his birth, and benefits." This, besides being ungrammatical, is foolish. Glencairn, like the other aristocratic leaders of the Reformation, was, no doubt, influenced by sordid motives; but, so far from injuring his country, he rendered it great service.

[98] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 64-73.

[99] It is stated of the queen-regent, that, in July 1559, "shee had sent alreadie to France for more men of warr." See the curious pamphlet entitled "A Historie of the Estate of Scotland, from July 1558 to April 1560," in *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, p. 63, Edinburgh, 1844. All sorts of rumours were circulated; and a letter, dated 12th October 1559, says, "Summe thinke the regent will departe secretlie. Summe that she will to Ynchkeith, for that three shippes are a preparing. Summe saye that she is verie sicke. Summe saye the devill cannot kill her." *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 499.

[100] *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 104. This was on the 22d of October 1559. Compare *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 512. "This Mondaye, the 22 of October, was the douagier deprived from her authoritie by commen consent of all lords and barons here present." On this occasion, "Johne Willocke," the preacher, delivered himself of a discourse in favour of her deposition. Among other arguments, he said, "that in deposing of princes, and these that have beene in authoritie, God did not alwayes use his immediat power, but sometimes he used other meanes, which His wisdome thought good, and justice approved. As by Asa, He removed Maacha, his owne mother, from honour and authoritie, which before she had used; by Jehu He destroyed Joram, and the whole posteritie of Achab." *Therefore* "he" (the orator) "could see no reasoun why they, the borne counsellers, the nobilitie and barons of the realme, might not justlie deprive her from all regiment." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. i. pp. 540, 541; and *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. pp. 442, 443.

In the winter, an English fleet sailed into the Frith, and anchored near Edinburgh.[101] In January 1560, the Duke of Norfolk arrived at Berwick, and concluded, on the part of Elizabeth, a treaty with the Lords of the Congregation, by virtue of which, the English army entered Scotland on the 2d of April.[102] Against this combination, the government could effect nothing, and in July, was glad to sign a peace, by which the French troops were to evacuate Scotland, and the whole power of administration was virtually consigned to the Protestant Lords.[103]

The complete success of this great revolution, and the speed with which it was effected, are of themselves a decisive proof of the energy of those general causes by which the whole movement was controlled. For more than a hundred and fifty years, there had been a deadly struggle between the nobles and the Church; and the issue of that struggle was, the establishment of the Reformation, and the triumph of the aristocracy. They had, at last, carried their point. The hierarchy was overthrown, and replaced by new and untried men. All the old notions of apostolic succession, of the imposition of hands, and of the divine right of ordination, were suddenly discarded. The offices of the Church were performed by heretics, the majority of whom had not even been ordained.[104] Finally, and to crown the whole, in

[101] The *Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 55, 272, says, that the fleet arrived on 24th of January 1559-60; "aucht greit schippis of Ingland in the raid of Leith." And a letter (in *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 697), dated the 23d of January, says, "the shippes arrived yesterdaye in the Frythe to the nomber of ix. or x., as yet, and the remanent followith." The date, therefore, of the 10th of January, given in a note to *Keith's Church and State in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 255, is evidently erroneous. Important as the event was, its exact date is not mentioned either by Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. v. pp. 114, 115), or by Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 631).

[102] *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 632. *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 57. The Berwick treaty, in February, is printed in *Keith's Church and State in Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 258-262. So great was the influence of the nobles, that the English troops were well received by the people, in spite of the old and bitter animosity between the two nations. "Especially in Fyfe they were thankfully receaved, and well entreated, with such quietnes and gentle entertainement betwixt our nation and them, as no man would have thought that ever there had beine any variance." *A Historie of the Estate of Scotland*, from 1558 to 1560, in *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, p. 78.

[103] "Vpoun the vi. day of Julij, it wes concludit and finallie endit betuix the saids ambassatouris, tuitching all debaittis, contraversies and materis concernyng the asseiging of Leith, depairting of the Frenchemen thairfra, and randering of the same; and the said peax daitit this said day." *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, pp. 277, 278. See also p. 60; and *Keith's Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, vol. i. p. 295.

[104] "That Knox himself was in priest's orders, is a fact which his biographer, the late Dr. M'Crie, has placed beyond dispute; and some of the other leaders were also priests; but the greater number of the preachers, and all those who subsequently became ministers, were totally without any orders whatever, not even such as the superintendents could have given them; for their own supposed call, the election of the people, and the *civil* ceremony of induction to the living, was all that was

the summer of that same year, 1560, the Scotch parliament passed two laws, which utterly subverted the ancient scheme. By one of these laws, every statute which had ever been enacted in favour of the Church, was at once repealed.[105] By the other law, it was declared that whoever either said mass, or was present while it was said, should, for the first offence, lose his goods; for the second offence be exiled; and for the third offence, be put to death.[106]

Thus it was, that an institution, which had borne the brunt of more than a thousand years, was shivered, and fell to pieces. And, from its fall, great things were augured. It was believed, that the people would be enlightened, that their eyes were opening to their former follies, and that the reign of superstition was about to end. But what was forgotten then, and what is too often forgotten now, is, that in these affairs there is an order and a natural sequence, which can never be reversed. This is, that every institution, as it actually exists, no matter what its name or pretences may be, is the effect of public opinion far more than the cause; and that it will avail nothing to attack the institution, unless you can first change the opinion. In Scotland, the Church was grossly superstitious; but it did not, therefore, follow, that to overthrow the establishment, would lessen the evil. They who think that superstition can be weakened in this way, do not know the vitality of that dark and ill-omened principle. Against it, there is only one weapon, and that weapon is knowledge. When men are ignorant, they must be superstitious; and wherever superstition exists, it is sure to organize itself into some kind of system, which it makes its home. If you drive it from that home, it will find another. The spirit transmigrates; it assumes a new form; but still it lives. How idle, then, is that warfare which reformers are too apt to wage, in which they slay the carcass, and spare the life! The husk, forsooth, they seek out, and destroy; but

then 'judged necessary.'" *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, 1848, vol. i. pp. 145, 146. "A new-fashioned sort of ministry, unknown in the Christian Church for all preceding generations." *Keith's Church and State in Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 204. Compare *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, pp. 34-36.

[105] "The thre estaitis of parliament hes ānullit and declarit all sik actes maid in tymes bipast not aggreing w^t goddis word and now contrair to the confessiouñ of oure fay^t according to the said word publist in this parliament, Tobe of nane avale force nor effect. And decernis the said actis and every ane of thame to haue na effect nor strenth in tyme to cum." *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, 1814, folio, vol. ii. p. 535. This was on 24th August 1560.

[106] "That na maner of person nor personis say mess nor zit heir mess nor be pñt thairat vnder the pane of confiscatiouñ of all thair gud movable and vnmovable and pvneissing of thair bodeis at the discretioun of the magistrat within quhais jurisdictiouñ sik personis happȳnis to be apprehendit ffor the first falt: Banissing of the Realme for the secund falt, and justifying to the deid for the thrid falt." *Ibid.*, 24th August 1560, vol. ii. p. 535.

within that husk is a seed of deadly poison, whose vitality they are unable to impair, and which, shifted from its place, bears fruit in another direction, and shoots up with a fresh, and often a more fatal exuberance.

The truth is, that every institution, whether political or religious, represents, in its actual working, the form and pressure of the age. It may be very old; it may bear a venerated name; it may aim at the highest objects; but whoever carefully studies its history, will find that, in practice, it is successively modified by successive generations, and that, instead of controlling society, it is controlled by it. When the Protestant Reformation was effected, the Scotch were excessively ignorant, and, therefore, in spite of the Reformation, they remained excessively superstitious. How long that ignorance continued, and what its results were, we shall presently see; but before entering into that inquiry, it will be advisable to trace the immediate consequences of the Reformation itself, in connexion with the powerful class by whose authority it was established.

The nobles, having overthrown the Church, and stripped it of a large part of its wealth, thought that they were to reap the benefit of their own labour. They had slain the enemy, and they wished to divide the spoil.[107] But this did not suit the views of the Protestant preachers. In their opinion, it was impious to secularise ecclesiastical property, and turn it aside to profane purposes. They held, that it was right, indeed, for the lords to plunder the Church; but they took for granted that the proceeds of the robbery were to enrich themselves. They were the godly men; and it was the business of the ruling classes to endow them with benefices, from which the old and idolatrous clergy were to be expelled.[108]

In accordance with these opinions, Knox and his colleagues, in August 1560, presented a petition to Parliament, calling on the nobles to restore the Church property which they had seized,

[107] As Robertson says, in his measured, and somewhat feeble, style, "Among the Scottish nobility, some hated the persons, and others coveted the wealth, of the dignified clergy; and by abolishing that order of men, the former indulged their resentment, and the latter hoped to gratify their avarice." *History of Scotland*, book iii. p. 116, in *Robertson's Works*, edit. 1831. The contemporary narrative, in *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 269, sounds much more vigorous to my ear. "In all this tyme" (1559), "all kirkmennis goodis and geir wer spoulzeit and reft fra thame, in euerie place quhair the samyne culd be apprehendit; for euerie man for the maist pairt that culd get any thing pertenyng to any kirkmen, thocht the same as wele won geir."

[108] "Knox never dreamed that the revenues of the Church were to be secularized; but that he and his colleagues were simply to remove the old incumbents, and then take possession of their benefices." *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 106. "The ecclesiastical revenues, which they never contemplated for a moment were to be seized by the Protestant nobility." *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 233.

and to have it properly applied to the support of the new ministers.[109] To this request, those powerful chiefs did not even vouchsafe a reply.[110] They were content with matters as they actually stood, and were, therefore, unwilling to disturb the existing arrangement. They had fought the fight; they had gained the victory, and shared the spoil. It was not to be supposed that they would peaceably relinquish what they had won with infinite difficulty. Nor was it likely that, after being engaged in an arduous struggle with the Church for a hundred and fifty years, and having at length conquered their inveterate enemy, they should forego the fruits of their triumph for the sake of a few preachers, whom they had but recently called to their aid; low-born and obscure men, who should rather deem it an honour that they were permitted to associate with their superiors in a common enterprise, but were not to presume on that circumstance, nor to suppose that they, who only entered the field at the eleventh hour, were to share the booty on any thing approaching to terms of equality.[111]

But the aristocracy of Scotland little knew the men with whom they had to deal. Still less, did they understand the character of their own age. They did not see that, in the state of society in which they lived, superstition was inevitable, and that, therefore, the spiritual classes, though depressed for a moment, were sure speedily to rise again. The nobles had overturned the Church; but the principles on which Church authority is based, remained intact. All that was done, was to change the name and the form. A new hierarchy was quickly organized, which succeeded the old one in the affections of the people. Indeed, it did more. For, the Protestant clergy, neglected by the nobles, and unendowed by the state, had only a miserable pittance whereupon to live, and they necessarily threw themselves into the arms of the people, where alone they could find support and sympathy.[112] Hence, a closer and more

[109] Compare *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 89-92, with *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 179. Of this document, M'Crie says, "There can be no doubt that it received the sanction, if it was not the composition, of the reformer." . . . . "It called upon them" (the nobles) "to restore the patrimony of the Church, of which they had unjustly possessed themselves."

[110] "Making no answer to the last point." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 327. "Without taking any notice." *Keith's Affairs of Church and State*, vol. i. p. 321.

[111] "They viewed the Protestant preachers as low-born individuals, not far raised above the condition of mechanics or tradesmen, without influence, authority, or importance." *Lawson's Roman Catholic Church in Scotland*, p. 251. "None were more unmercifull to the poore ministers than they that had the greatest share of the kirk rents." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 42.

[112] In 1561, "Notwithstanding the full establishment of the Reformation, the Protestant ministers were in a state of extreme poverty, and dependent upon the

intimate union than would otherwise have been possible. Hence, too, as we shall presently see, the Presbyterian clergy, smarting under the injustice with which they were treated, displayed that hatred of the upper classes, and that peculiar detestation of monarchical government, which they showed whenever they dared. In their pulpits, in their presbyteries, and in their General Assemblies, they encouraged a democratic and insubordinate tone, which eventually produced the happiest results, by keeping alive, at a critical moment, the spirit of liberty; but which, for that very reason, made the higher ranks rue the day, when, by their ill-timed and selfish parsimony, they roused the wrath of so powerful and implacable a class.

The withdrawal of the French troops, in 1560, had left the nobles in possession of the government; [113] and it was for them to decide to what extent the Reformed clergy should be endowed. The first petition, presented by Knox and his brethren, was passed over in contemptuous silence. But the ministers were not so easily put aside. Their next step was, to present to the Privy Council what is known as the First Book of Discipline, in which they again urged their request.[114] To the tenets contained in this book, the council had no objection; but they refused to ratify it, because, by doing so, they would have sanctioned the principle that the new church had a right to the revenues of the old one.[115] A certain share, indeed, they were willing to concede. What the share should be, was a matter of serious dispute, and caused the greatest ill-will between the two parties. At length, the nobles broke silence, and, in De-

precarious assistance of their flocks." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. v. p. 207. Compare a letter, written by Knox, in 1566, on "the extreame povertie wherein our ministers are brought." *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 542.

[113] "The limited authority which the Crown had hitherto possessed, was almost entirely annihilated, and the aristocratical power, which always predominated in the Scottish government (?), became supreme and incontrollable." *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, 1834, vol. i. p. 223.

[114] See the *First Book of Discipline*, reprinted in *A Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, part i., second edition, Edinburgh, 1837. They summed up their requests in one comprehensive passage (p. 119), that "the haill rentis of the Kirk abusit in Papistrie sal be referrit againe to the Kirk." In another part (p. 106), they frankly admit that, "we doubt not but some of our petitions shall appeare strange unto you at the first sight."

[115] "The form of polity recommended in the First Book of Discipline never obtained the proper sanction of the State, chiefly in consequence of the avarice of the nobility and gentry, who were desirous of securing to themselves the revenues of the Church." *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, p. 324. See also *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, p. 26. Many of the nobles, however, did sign it (*Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 129); but, says Spottiswoode (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 373), "Most of those that subscribed, getting into their hands the possessions of the Church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of church patrimony than were the papists, or any other whatsoever."

cember 1561, they declared that the Reformed clergy should only receive one-sixth of the property of the Church; the remaining five-sixths being divided between the government and the Catholic priesthood.[116] The meaning of this was easily understood, since the Catholics were now entirely dependent on the government, and the government was, in fact, the nobles themselves, who were, at that period, the monopolizers of political power.

Such being the case, it naturally happened, that, when the arrangement was made known, the preachers were greatly moved. They saw how unfavourable it was to their own interests, and, therefore, they held that it was unfavourable to the interests of religion. Hence, in their opinion, it was contrived by the devil, whose purposes it was calculated to serve.[117] For, now, they who travailed in the vineyard of the Lord, were to be discouraged, and were to suffer, in order that what rightly belonged to them might be devoured by idle bellies.[118] The nobles might benefit for a time, but the vengeance of God was swift, and would most assuredly overtake them.[119] From the beginning to the end, it was nothing but spoliation. In a really Christian land, the patrimony of the Church would be left untouched.[120] But, in Scotland, alas! Satan had prevail-

[116] *M'Crie's Life of Knox*, p. 204. *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 298-301, 307-309. *Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, lib. xvii. p. 500 The nominal arrangement, which was contrived with considerable art, was, that one-third of the church revenues should be divided into two parts; one part for the government, and another part for the preachers. The remaining two-thirds were gravely assigned to the Catholic priesthood, who, at that very moment, were liable, by Act of Parliament, to the penalty of death, if they performed the rites of their religion. Men, whose lives were in the hands of the government, were not likely to quarrel with the government about money matters; and the result was, that nearly every thing fell into the possession of the nobles.

[117] "The Ministeris, evin in the begynnyng, in publict Sermonis opponed thame selves to suche corruptioun, for thei foirsaw the purpose of the Devill." *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 310.

[118] "For it seemeth altogether unreasonable that idle belleis sall devoure and consume the patrimonie of the Kirk, whill the faithfull travellers in the Lord's vineyarde suffer extreme povertie, and the needie members of Christ's bodie are altogether neglected." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. ii. pp. 484, 485. This was in 1569; and, in 1571, the celebrated Ferguson, in one of his sermons, declared that the holders of church property, most of whom were the nobility, were "ruffians." See an extract from his sermon, in *Chalmers' History of Dunfermline*, p. 309, Edinburgh, 1844. "For this day Christ is spuilzeit amang us, quhil y[t] quhilk aucht to mantene the Ministerie of the Kirk and the pure, is geuin to prophane men, flattereris in court, ruffianes, and hyrelingis."

[119] In September 1571, John Row "preiched, wha in plane pulpet pronunced to the lordis, for thair covetusnes, and becaus they wold not grant the just petitiones of the Kirk, Godis heastie vengeance to fall upon them; and said, moreover, 'I cair not, my lordis, your displeasour; for I speik my conscience befoir God, wha will not suffer sic wickitnes and contempt vnpunished." *Bannatyne's Journal*, edit. Edinburgh, 1806, p. 257.

[120] In 1576, the General Assembly declared, that their right to "the patrimonie

ed,[121] and Christian charity had waxen cold.[122] In Scotland, property, which should be regarded as sacred, had been broken up and divided; and the division was of the worst kind, since, by it, said Knox, two-thirds are given to the devil, and the other third is shared between God and the devil. It was as if Joseph, when governor of Egypt, had refused food to his brethren, and sent them back to their families with empty sacks.[123] Or, as another preacher suggested, the Church was now, like the Maccabees of old, being oppressed, sometimes by the Assyrians, and sometimes by the Egyptians.[124]

of the Kirk" was "ex jure divino." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 360, Edinburgh, 1839, 4to. More than a hundred years later, a Scotch divine evinces how deeply the members of his profession felt this spoliation of the Church, by going out of his way to mention it. See *Jacob's Vow, by Dr. John Cockburn*, Edinburgh, 1696, pp. 422, 423, 425. But this is nothing in comparison to a recent writer, the Reverend Mr. Lyon, who deliberately asserts that, because these and similar acts occurred in the reign of Mary, therefore the queen came to a violent end; such being the just punishment of sacrilege. "The practice" (of saying masses for the dead) "ceased, of course, at the Reformation; and the money was transferred by Queen Mary to the civil authorities of the town. This was, undoubtedly, an act of sacrilege; for, though sacrificial masses for the dead was an error, yet the guardians of the money so bequeathed, were under an obligation to apply it to a sacred purpose. This, and other sacrilegious acts on the part of Mary, of a still more decided and extensive character, have been justly considered as the cause of all the calamities which subsequently befell her." *History of St. Andrews, by the Rev. C. J. Lyon, M.A., Presbyter of the Episcopal Church, St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1843, vol. i. p. 54. Elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 400) the same divine mentions, that the usual punishment for sacrilege is a failure of male issue. "The following examples, selected from the diocese of St. Andrews, according to its boundaries before the Reformation, will corroborate the general doctrine contended for throughout this work, that sacrilege has ever been punished in the present life, and *chiefly* by the failure of male issue." The italics are in the text. See also vol. i. p. 118. For the sake of the future historian of public opinion, it may be well to observe, that the work containing these sentiments is not a reprint of an older book, but was published for the first time in 1843, having apparently been just written.

[121] "The General Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, convenit at Edinburgh the 25 of December 1566, to the Nobilitie of this Realme that professes the Lord Jesus with them, and hes renouncit that Roman Antichryst, desyre constancie in faith, and the spirit of righteous judgement. Seeing that Sathan, be all our negligence, Right Honourable, hes so farre prevailit within this Realme within these late dayes, that we doe stand in extream danger, not only *to lose our temporall possessiouns*, but also to be depryvit of the glorious Evangell," &c. *Keith's Church and State*, vol. iii. pp. 154, 155.

[122] In 1566, in their piteous communication to the English bishops and clergy, they said, "The days are ill; iniquitie abounds; christian charity, alas, is waxen cold." *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 87, Edinburgh, 1839, 4to.

[123] "I see twa partis freely gevin to the Devill, and the thrid maun be devided betwix God and the Devill: Weill, bear witnes to me, that this day I say it, or it be long the Devill shall have three partis of the thrid; and judge you then what Goddis portioun shalbe." . . . . "Who wold have thought, that when Joseph reulled Egypt, that his brethren should have travailled for vittallis, and have returned with empty seckis unto thair families? Men wold rather have thought that Pharao's pose, treasure, and garnallis should have bene diminished, or that the houshold of Jacob should stand in danger to sterve for hungar." *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 310, 311.

[124] In May 1571, "This Sonday, Mr. Craig teiched the 130 Psalme; and, in his

But neither persuasions nor threats[125] produced any effect on the obdurate minds of the Scotch nobles. Indeed, their hearts, instead of being softened, became harder. Even the small stipends, which were allotted to the Protestant clergy, were not regularly paid, but were mostly employed for other purposes.[126] When the ministers complained, they were laughed at, and insulted by the nobles, who, having gained their own ends, thought that they could dispense with their former allies.[127] The Earl of Morton, whose ability, as well as connections, made him the most powerful man in Scotland, was especially virulent against them; and two of the preachers who offended him, he put to death, under circumstances of great cruelty.[128] The

sermond, he compared the steat of the Kirk of God in this tovne vnto the steat of the Maccabeis; wha were oppressed sumtymes by the Assyrianis, and sumtymes by the Egiptianis." *Bannatyne's Journal*, p. 150.

[125] The first instance I have observed of any thing like menace, is in 1567, when "the Assembly of the Church being convened at Edinburgh," admonished all persons "as well noblemen as barons, and those of the other Estates, to meet and give their personal appearance at Edinburgh on the 20th of July, for giving their advice, counsel and concurrence in matters then to be proponed; especially for purging the realm of popery, the establishing of the policy of the Church, and *restoring the patrimony thereof to the just possessors.* Assuring those that should happen to absent themselves at the time, due and lawful advertisement being made, that they should be reputed hinderers of the good work intended, and as *dissimulate professors be esteemed unworthy of the fellowship of Christ's flock.*" *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 64. This evidently alludes to the possibility of excommunicating those who would not surrender to the Protestant preachers, the property stolen from the Catholic Church; and, in 1570, we find another step taken in the same direction. Under that year, the following passage occurs in *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 181. "Q. If those that withold the duty of the Kirk, *wherethrough Ministers want their stipends*, may be excommunicate? A. All things beand done that the civill ordour requyres of them that withhaldis the duetie of the Kirk, quherby Ministers wants their stipends; *the Kirk may proceed to excommunication, for their contempt.*"

[126] In 1562, "the poore ministers, exhorters, and readers compleaned at church assembleis, that neither were they able to live upon the stipends allowed, nor gett payment of that small portioun which was allowed." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 172. Compare *Acts of the General Assemblies*, 1839, 4to, vol. i. p. 53; "To requyre payment to ministers of there stipends for the tyme by past, according to the promise made." This was in December 1564. In December 1565, the General Assembly said (p. 71), "that wher oft and divers tymes promise hes bein made to us, that our saids brethren, travelers and preachers in the Kirk of God, sould not be defraudit of their appointit stipends, neither zet in any wayes sould be molestit in their functioun; zet nottheles universallie they want ther stipends appointit for diverse tymes by past." On the state of things in 1566, see "The Supplication of the Ministers to the Queen," in *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 529. See also, in the *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, vol. iv. pp. 92-101, Aberdeen, 1849, 4to, a letter written by John Erskine in December 1571, especially p. 97; "the gretest of the nobilitie haifing gretest rentis in possessione, and plaicet of God in maist hie honouris, ceasis nocht, maist wiolentlie blindit with awarice, to spoilye and draw to thame selfis the possessiones of the Kirk."

[127] "The ministers were called proud knaves, and receaved manie injurious words from the lords, speciallie from Morton, who ruled all. He said, he sould lay their pride, and putt order to them." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 137, 138. This was in 1571.

[128] *Chambers' Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

nobles, regarding him as their chief, elected him Regent in 1572;[129] and, being now possessed of supreme power, he employed it against the Church. He seized upon all the benefices which became vacant, and retained their profits in his own hands.[130] His hatred of the preachers passed all bounds. He publicly declared, that there would be neither peace nor order in the country, until some of them were hung.[131] He refused to sanction the General Assemblies by his presence; he wished to do away with their privileges, and even with their name; and with such determination did he pursue his measures, that, in the opinion of the historian of the Scotch Kirk, nothing but the special interference of the Deity could have maintained its existing polity.[132]

The rupture between Church and State was now complete. It remained to be seen which was the stronger side. Every year, the clergy became more democratic; and, after the death of Knox, in 1572, they ventured upon a course which even he would hardly have recommended, and which, during the earlier period of the Reformation, would have been impracticable.[133] But, by this time, they had secured the support of the people; and the treatment they were receiving from the government, and from the nobles, embittered their minds, and drove them into desperate counsels. While their plans were yet immature, and while the future was looming darkly before them, a new

[129] "The nobilitie wnderwrittin convenit in Edinburgh, and chesit and electit James erle of Mortoun regent." *A Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 320.

[130] In 1573, "when any benefeces of Kirk vaikit, he keapit the proffet of thair rents sa lang in his awin hand, till he was urgit be the Kirk to mak donatioun tharof, and that was not gevin but proffeit for all that." *The Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, edit. Edinburgh, 1825, 4to, p. 147. Even in 1570, when Lennox was regent, "the Earle of Mortoun was the chiefe manager of every thing under him;" and was "master of the church rents," and made "gifts of them to the nobility." *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. part i. pp. 27, 126, Glasgow, 1834, 4to.

[131] "During all these Assembleis and earnest endeavoures of the brethrein, the regent was often required to give his presence to the Assemblie, and further the caus of God. He not onlie refused, but threatned some of the most zealous with hanging, alledging, that otherwise there could be no peace nor order in the countrie." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 393, 394. "Uses grait thretning against the maist zelus breithring, schoring to hang of thame, utherwayes ther could be na peace nor ordour in the countrey." *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill*, edited by R. Pitcairn, Edinburgh, 1842, pp. 59, 60.

[132] "He mislyked the Generall Assembleis, and would have had the name changed, that he might take away the force and priviledge thereof; and no questioun he had stayed the work of policie that was presentlie in hands, if God had not stirred up a factioun against him." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 396. See also *The Autobiography of James Melvill*, p. 61.

[133] "During the two years following the death of Knox, each day was ripening the more determined opposition of the Church. The breach between the clergy with the great body of the people, and the government or higher nobility, was widening rapidly." *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, p. 70.

man arose, who was well qualified to be their chief, and who at once stepped into the place which the death of Knox left vacant. This was Andrew Melville, who, by his great ability, his boldness of character, and his fertility of resource, was admirably suited to be the leader of the Scottish Church in that arduous struggle in which it was about to embark.[134]

In 1574, Melville, having completed his education abroad, arrived in Scotland.[135] He quickly rallied round him the choicest spirits in the Church; and, under his auspices, a struggle began with the civil power, which continued, with many fluctuations, until it culminated, sixty years later, in open rebellion against Charles I. To narrate all the details of the contest, would be inconsistent with the plan of this Introduction; and, notwithstanding the extreme interest of the events which now ensued, the greater part of them must be omitted; but I will endeavour to indicate the general march, and to put the reader in possession of such facts as are most characteristic of the age in which they occurred.

Melville had not been in Scotland many months, before he began his opposition, at first by secret intrigues, afterwards with open and avowed hostility.[136] In the time of Knox, episcopacy had been recognized as part of the Protestant Church, and had received the sanction of the leading Reformers.[137] But that institution did not harmonize with the democratic spirit which was now growing up. The difference of ranks between the

[134] "Next to her Reformer, who, under God, emancipated her from the degrading shackles of papal superstition and tyranny, I know no individual from whom Scotland has received such important services, or to whom she continues to owe so deep a debt of national respect and gratitude, as Andrew Melville." *M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii. p. 473, Edinburgh, 1819. His nephew, himself a considerable person, says, "Scotland receavit never a graitter benefit at the hands of God nor this man." *The Autobiography of James Melvill*, p. 38.

[135] He left Scotland in 1564, at the age of nineteen, and returned "in the begin ning of July 1574, after an absence of ten years from his native country." *M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. i. pp. 17, 57. See also *Scot's Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk of Scotland*, edit. Wodrow Society, p. 34; and *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 111, Glasgow, 1781.

[136] He appears to have first set to work in November 1574. See *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 261, London, 1848.

[137] "The compilers of the Book of Discipline" (*i. e.* the First Book, in 1560) "were distinguished by prelatical principles to the end of their days." . . . "That Knox himself was no enemy to prelacy, considered as an ancient and apostolical institution, is rendered clear by his 'Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel.'" *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, 1834, vol. i. p. 240. "The associates of Knox, it is obvious, were not Presbyterians, and had no intention of setting up a system of parity among the ministers of their new establishment." p. 243. See also p. 332. Even in 1572, the year of Knox's death, I find it stated, that "the whole Diocie of Sanct Andrews is decerned be the Assembly to pertain to the Bishop of the same." *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 264, 4to, 1839. The Scotch Presbyterians have dealt very unfairly with this part of the history of their Church.

bishops and the inferior clergy was unpleasant, and the ministers determined to put an end to it.[138] In 1575, one of them, named John Dury, was instigated, by Melville, to bring the subject before the General Assembly at Edinburgh.[139] After he had spoken, Melville also expressed himself against episcopacy; but, not being yet sure of the temper of the audience, his first proceedings were somewhat cautious. Such hesitation was, however, hardly necessary; for, owing to the schism between the Church and the upper classes, the ministers were becoming the eager enemies of those maxims of obedience, and of subordination, which they would have upheld, had the higher ranks been on their side. As it was, the clergy were only favoured by the people; they, therefore, sought to organize a system of equality, and were ripe for the bold measures proposed by Melville and his followers. This was clearly shown, by the rapidity of the subsequent movement. In 1575, the first attack was made in the General Assembly at Edinburgh. In April 1578, another General Assembly resolved, that, for the future, bishops should be called by their own names, and not by their titles.[140] The same body also declared, that no see should be filled up, until the next Assembly.[141] Two months afterwards, it was announced that this arrangement was to be perpetual, and that no new bishop should ever be made.[142] And,

[138] Some little time after this, David Fergusson, who died in 1598, and was minister at Dunfermline, said very frankly to James VI., "Yes, Sir, ye may have Bishops here, but *ye must remember to make us all equall;* make us all Bishops, els will ye never content us." *Row's History of the Kirk of Scotland from* 1558 *to* 1637, edit. Wodrow Society, p. 418. Compare *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iv. p. 214: in 1584, "these monstruous titles of superioritie." In 1586, "that tyrannicall supremacie of bishops and archbishops over ministers." p. 604.

[139] "He stirred up John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in an Assembly which was then convened, to propound a question touching the lawfulness of the episcopal function, and the authority of chapters in their election. He himself, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the speaker's zeal, and seconded the purpose with a long discourse of the flourishing estate of the church of Geneva, and the opinions of Calvin and Theodore Beza concerning church government, came to affirm, 'That none ought to be esteemed office-bearers in the Church whose titles were not found in the book of God. And, for the title of bishops, albeit the same was found in Scripture, yet was it not to be taken in the sense that the common sort did conceive, there being no superiority allowed by Christ amongst ministers,'" &c. *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 200. See also *Acts of the General Assemblies*, vol. i. p. 331, where it appears that six bishops were present on this memorable occasion. The question raised was, "Whither if the Bischops, as tney are now in the Kirk of Scotland, hes thair function of the word of God or not, or if the Chapiter appointit for creating of them aucht to be tollerated in this reformed Kirk." p. 340.

[140] "It was ordained, That Bischops and all vthers bearand Ecclesiasticall functioun, be callit be thair awin names, or Brethren, in tyme comeing." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 404.

[141] "Therfor the Kirk hes concludit, That no Bischops salbe electit or made heirafter, befor the nixt Generall Assemblie." *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 408.

[142] "Anent the Act made in the last Assemblie, the 28 of Aprile 1578, concern-

in 1580, the Assembly of the Church at Dundee, pulling the whole fabric to the ground, unanimously resolved that the office of bishop was a mere human invention; that it was unlawful; that it must be immediately done away with; and that every bishop should at once resign his office, or be excommunicated if he refused to do so.[143]

The minister and the people had now done their work, and, so far as they were concerned, had done it well.[144] But the same circumstances which made them desire equality, made the upper classes desire inequality.[145] A collision, therefore, was inevitable, and was hastened by this bold proceeding of the Church. Indeed, the preachers, supported by the people, rather courted a contest, than avoided it. They used the most inflammatory language against episcopacy; and, shortly before abol-

ing the electioun of Bischops, suspendit quhill this present Assemblie, and the farther ordour reservit thereto: The General Assemblie, all in ane voyce, hes concludit, That the said act salbe extendit for all tymes to come, ay and quhill the corruptioun of the Estate of Bischops be alluterlie tane away." *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 413.

[143] "Forsameikle as the office of a Bischop, as it is now vsit, and commounly takin within this realme, hes no sure warrand, auctoritie, nor good ground out of the (Book and) Scriptures of God; but is brocht in by the folie and corruptions of (men's) invention, to the great overthrow of the Kirk of God: The haill Assemblie of the Kirk, in ane voyce, after libertie givin to all men to reason in the matter, *none opponing themselves in defending the said pretendit office*, Finds and declares the samein pretendit office, vseit and termeit, as is above said, vnlaufull in the selfe, as haveand neither fundament, ground nor warrant within the word of God: and ordaines, That all sick persons as bruiks, or sall bruik heirafter the said office, salbe chargeit simpliciter to demitt, quyt and leave of the samein, as ane office quhervnto they are not callit be God; and siclyke to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the sacraments, or vsing any way the office of pastors, quhill they receive *de novo* admission from the Generall Assemblie, vnder the paine of excommunicatioun to be denuncit agains them; quherin if they be found dissobedient, or contraveine this act in any point, the sentence of excommunicatioun, after dew admonitions, to be execute agains them." *Acts of the General Assemblies*, vol. ii. p. 453.

[144] As Calderwood triumphantly says, "the office of bishops was damned." *History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 469. "Their whole estat, both the spirituall and civill part, was damned." p. 526. James Melville (*Autobiography*, p. 52) says that, in consequence of this achievement, his uncle Andrew "gatt the nam of επισκοπομαστιξ, *Episcoporum exactor*, the flinger out of Bischopes."

[145] Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 302) observes that, while "the great body of the burghers, and middle and lower classes of the people," were Presbyterians, "a large proportion of the nobility supported episcopacy." Instead of "a large proportion," he would not have been far wrong, if he had said "all." Indeed, "Melville himself says the whole peerage was against him." *Stephen's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 269. Forbes ascribes the aristocratic movement against presbytery to "godles atheists," who insisted "that there could be nothing so contrair to the nature of a monarchie," &c., "than that paritie of authoritie in pastours." *Forbes, Certaine Records touching the Estate of the Kirk*, p. 349, edit. Wodrow Society. See also p. 355. "That Democratie (as they called it) whilk allwayes behoved to be full of sedition and troublle to ane Aristocratie, and so in end to a Monarchie." The reader will observe this important change in the attitude of classes in Scotland. Formerly, the clergy had been the allies of the crown against the nobles. Now, the nobles allied themselves with the crown against the clergy. The clergy, in self-defence, had to ally themselves with the people.

ishing it, they completed, and presented to Parliament, the Second Book of Discipline, in which they flatly contradicted what they had asserted in their First Book of Discipline.[146] For this, they are often taunted with inconsistency.[147] But the charge is unjust. They were perfectly consistent; and they merely changed their maxims, that they might preserve their principles. Like every corporation, which has ever existed, whether spiritual or temporal, their supreme and paramount principle was to maintain their own power. Whether or not this is a good principle, is another matter; but all history proves that it is an universal one. And when the leaders of the Scotch Church found that it was at stake, and that the question at issue was, who should possess authority, they, with perfect consistency, abandoned opinions that they had formerly held, because they now perceived that those opinions were unfavourable to their existence as an independent body.

When the First Book of Discipline appeared, in 1560, the government was in the hands of the nobles, who had just fought on the side of the Protestant preachers, and were ready to fight again on their side. When the Second Book of Discipline appeared, in 1578, the government was still held by the nobles; but those ambitious men had now thrown off the mask, and, having effected their purpose in destroying the old hierarchy, had actually turned round, and attacked the new one. The circumstances having changed, the Church changed with them; but in the change there was nothing inconsistent. On the contrary, it would have been the height of inconsistency for the ministers to have retained their former notions of obedience and of subordination; and it was perfectly natural that, at this crisis, they should advocate the democratic idea of equality, just as before they had advocated the aristocratic idea of inequality.

Hence it was, that, in their First Book of Discipline, they established a regularly ascending hierarchy, according to which the general clergy owed obedience to their ecclesiastical superiors, to whom the name of superintendents was given.[148] But,

[146] On the difference between the two productions, there are some remarks worth looking at, in *Argyll's Presbytery Examined*, 1848, pp. 38-43. But this writer, though much freer from prejudice than most Presbyterian authors, is ununwilling to admit how completely the Second Book of Discipline contradicts the First.

[147] By the Scotch episcopalians.

[148] See the *First Book of Discipline*, reprinted in the first volume of *A Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, 2d edit., Edinburgh, 1837. The superintendents were "to set, order, and appoint ministers," p. 61; and it would seem (p. 88) that no minister could be deposed without the consent of his superintendent; but this could hardly be intended to interfere with the supreme authority of the General Assembly. See also the summary, p. 114, where it is said of the superin-

in the Second Book of Discipline, every vestige of this was swept away; and it was laid down in the broadest terms, that all the preachers being fellow-labourers, all were equal in power; that none had authority over others; and that, to claim such authority, or to assert preëminence, was a contrivance of man, not to be permitted in a divinely constituted Church.[149]

The government, as may be supposed, took a very different view. Such doctrines were deemed, by the upper classes, to be anti-social, and to be subversive of all order.[150] So far from sanctioning them, they resolved, if possible, to overthrow them; and, the year after the General Assembly had abolished episcopacy, it was determined that, upon that very point, a trial of strength should be made between the two parties.

In 1581, Robert Montgomery was appointed archbishop of Glasgow. The ministers who composed the chapter of Glasgow,

tendents, that "in thair visitatioun thei sal not onlie preiche, but als examine the doctrine, life, diligence, and behavior of the ministeris, reideris, elderis, and deaconis." According to Spottiswoode (*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 167), "the superintendents held their office during life, and their power was episcopal; for they did elect and ordain ministers, they presided in synods, and directed all church censures, neither was any excommunication pronounced without their warrant." See further, on their authority, *Knox's History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 161. "That punyschment suld be appointed for suche as dissobeyid or contemned the superintendentes in thair functioun." This was in 1561; and, in 1562, "It was ordained, that if ministers be disobedient to superintendents in any thing belonging to edification, they must be subject to correction." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk*, vol. i. p. 14. Compare p. 131: "sick things as superintendents may and aught decyde in their synodall conventiouns."

[149] "For albeit the Kirk of God be rewlit and governit be Jesus Christ, who is the onlie King, hie Priest, and Heid thereof, yit he useis the ministry of men, as the most necessar middis for this purpose." . . . . "And to take away all occasion of tyrannie, he willis that they sould rewl with mutuall consent of brether and *equality of power*, every one according to thair functiones." *Second Book of Discipline*, in *A Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 126, 127. "As to Bischops, if the name ἐπίσκοπος be properly taken, *they ar all ane with the ministers*, as befoir was declairit. For it is *not a name of superioritie and lordschip*, bot of office and watching." p. 142. To understand the full meaning of this, it should be mentioned, that the superintendents, established by the Kirk in 1560, not unfrequently assumed the title of "Lordship," as an ornament to the extensive powers conferred upon them. See, for instance, the notes to *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. part ii. p. 461. But, in the Second Book of Discipline, in 1578, the superintendents are, if I rightly remember, not even once named.

[150] Just as in England, we find that the upper classes are mostly Episcopalians; their minds being influenced, often unconsciously, by the, to them, pleasing spectacle of an inequality of rank, which is conventional, and does not depend upon ability. On the other hand, the strength of the Dissenters lies among the middle and lower classes, where energy and intellect are held in higher respect, and where a contempt naturally arises for a system, which, at the mere will of the sovereign or minister of the day, concedes titles and wealth to persons whom nature did not intend for greatness, but who, to the surprise of their contemporaries, have greatness thrust upon them. On this difference of opinion in Scotland, corresponding to the difference of social position, see the remarks on the seventeenth century, in *Hume's Commentaries on the Law of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 544, Edinburgh, 1797, 4to.

refused to elect him; whereupon the Privy Council declared that the King, by virtue of his prerogative, had the right of nomination.[151] All was now confusion and uproar. The General Assembly forbad the archbishop to enter Glasgow.[152] He refused to obey their order, and threw himself upon the support of the Duke of Lennox, who had obtained the appointment for him, and to whom he, in return, had surrendered nearly all the revenues of the see, reserving for himself only a small stipend.[153] This was a custom which had grown up within the last few years, and was one of many contrivances by which the nobles plundered the Church of her property.[154]

This, however, was not the question now at issue.[155] The point to be decided was one, not of revenue, but of power. For, the clergy knew full well, that if they established their power, the revenue would quickly follow. They, therefore, adopted the most energetic proceedings. In April 1582, the General Assembly met at St. Andrews, and appointed Melville as moderator.[156] The government, fearing the worst, ordered the members, on pain of rebellion, to take no steps respecting the archbishopric.[157] But the representatives of the Church were undaunted. They summoned Montgomery before them; they ratified the sentence by which he had been suspended from the ministry; and they declared that he had incurred the penalties of deposition and of excommunication.[158]

[151] Record of Privy Council, in *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 267. "The brethrein of Glasgow were charged, under paine of horning, to admitt Mr. Robert Montgomrie." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 596.

[152] "Charges the said Mr. Robert to continue in the ministrie of the Kirk of Striveling," &c. *Acts of the General Assemblies*, vol. ii. p. 547. This was in October 1581; the Record of the Privy Council was in April 1582. Moysie, who was a contemporary, says that, in March 1581, 2, not only the dean and chapter, but all the clergy (the "haill ministrie") declared from the pulpit that Montgomery's appointment "had the warrand of the deuill and not of the word of God, bot wes damnit thairby." *Moysie's Memoirs*, Edinburgh, 1830, 4to, p. 36.

[153] "The title whereof the said duke had procured to him, that he, having the name of bishop, and eight hundreth merks money for his living and sustentatioun, the whole rents, and other duteis of the said benefice, might come to the duke's utilitie and behove." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iv. p. 111. See also p. 401.

[154] *Scot's Apologetical Narration of the State of the Kirk*, pp. 24, 25. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 302. *Wodrow's Collections upon the Lives of the Reformers*, vol. i. part i. p. 206. *Lyon's History of St. Andrews*, vol. i. p. 379. *Gibson's History of Glasgow*, p. 59. *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, vol. ii. pp. 216, 217. *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii. p. 624.

[155] "But the Church passing this point" (*i. e.* the simony) "made quarrel to him for accepting the bishopric." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 282.

[156] *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 548.

[157] "A messenger-at-arms entered the house, and charged the moderator and members of the assembly, on the pain of rebellion, to desist from the process." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 268.

[158] "The Assemblie and brether present, after voteing in the said matter,

A sentence of excommunication was, in those days, so ruinous, that Montgomery was struck with terror at the prospect before him. To avoid the consequences, he appeared before the Assembly, and solemnly promised that he would make no further attempt to possess himself of the archbishopric.[159] By doing this, he probably saved his life; for the people, siding with their clergy, were ripe for mischief, and were determined, at all hazards, to maintain what they considered to be the rights of the Church, in opposition to the encroachments of the State.

The government, on the other hand, was equally resolute.[160] The Privy Council called several of the ministers before them; and Dury, one of the most active, they banished from Edinburgh.[161] Measures still more violent were about to be taken, when they were interrupted by one of those singular events which not unfrequently occurred in Scotland, and which strikingly evince the inherent weakness of the Crown, notwithstanding the inordinate pretensions it commonly assumed.

This was the Raid of Ruthven, which happened in 1582, and in consequence of which the person of James VI. was held in durance for ten months.[162] The clergy, true to the policy which now governed them, loudly approved of the captivity of the king, and pronounced it to be a godly act.[163] Dury, who had been driven from his pulpit, was brought back to the capital in triumph;[164] and the General Assembly, meeting at Edin-

pryvit the said Mr. Robert from all functioun of the Ministrie in the Kirk of God, dureing the will of the Kirk of God; and farther, descernit the fearefull sentence of excommunicatioun to be pronuncit against him in the face of the haill Assemblie, be the voyce and mouth of the Moderatour present; to the effect, that, *his proud flesh being cast into the hands of Satan*, he may be win againe, if it be possible, to God; and the said sentence (to) be intimat be every particular minister, at his awin particular kirk, solemnelie in the first sermoun to be made be them, after thair returning." *Acts of the General Assemblies of the Kirk*, vol. ii. p. 562.

[159] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 565. Calderwood (*History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 604) says, "After long reluctatioun, at lenth he condescended."

[160] M'Crie (*Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 274) says, "In all these contendings, the ministers had no countenance or support from any of the nobility." It would have been strange if they had, seeing that the whole movement was essentially democratic.

[161] *Melville's Autobiography*, p. 129. *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. p. 620. *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 270.

[162] He was seized in August 1582, and was let loose again in June 1583. *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vi. pp. 321, 360. It is a pity that this valuable, and really able, work should be so superficial in regard to the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland. Mr. Tytler appears not to have studied at all the proceedings of the presbyteries, or even of the General Assemblies; neither does he display any acquaintance with the theological literature of his country. And yet, from the year 1560 to about 1700, these sources disclose more of the genuine history of the Scotch people than all other sources put together.

[163] "The pulpit resounded with applauses of the godly deed." *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, p. 37.

[164] "As he is comming from Leith to Edinburgh, upon Tuisday the 4th of Sep-

burgh, ordered that the imprisonment of James should be justified by every minister to his own congregation.[165]

In 1583, the king recovered his liberty, and the struggle became more deadly than ever; the passions of both parties being exasperated by the injuries each had inflicted on the other. The Ruthven conspiracy having been declared treason, as it undoubtedly was, Dury preached in its favour, and openly defended it; and although, under the influence of momentary fear, he afterwards withdrew what he had said,[166] it was evident, from other circumstances, that his feelings were shared by his brethren.[167] A number of them being summoned before the king for their seditious language, bad him take heed what he was about, and reminded him that no occupant of the throne had ever prospered after the ministers had begun to threaten him.[168] Melville, who exercised immense influence over both clergy and people, bearded the king to his face, refused to account for what he had delivered in the pulpit, and told James that he perverted the laws both of God and of man.[169] Simp-

tember, there mett him at the Gallow Greene two hundreth men of the inhabitants of Edinburgh. Their number still increassed, till he came within the Neather Bow. There they beganne to sing the 124 Psalme, 'Now may Israel say,' &c., and sang in foure parts, knowne to the most part of the people. They came up the street till they came to the Great Kirk, singing thus all the way, to the number of two thowsand. They were muche moved themselves, and so were all the beholders. The duke was astonished, and more affrayed at that sight than at anie thing that ever he had seene before in Scotland, and rave his beard for anger." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. iii. pp. 646, 647.

[165] *Acts of the General Assemblies*, vol. ii. pp. 595, 596. This was ordered by the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 9th of October 1582, p. 585. See also *Watson's Historicall Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, p. 192, "requiring the ministers in all their churches to commend it unto the people."

[166] *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 308.

[167] James, after his escape, "convocat all his peceabill Prelatis and Nobles, and thair he notefeit unto thayme the greif that he consavit of his unlaughfull detentioun the yeir bygayne, and tharefore desyrit thame to acknawlege the same; and thay be thair generall voittis decernit the rayd of Ruthven to be manifest treasoun. The Ministers on the uther part, perswadit the people that it was a godly fact, and that whasoever wald not allow thareof in his hart, was not worthie to be estemit a Christien." *The Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 202, published by the Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1825, 4to.

[168] "Disregard not our threatening; for there was never one yet in this realm, in the place where your grace is, who prospered after the ministers began to threaten him." *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 364. See also, in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. pp. 540, 541, a letter from one of the clergy in Fife, addressed to the king, in 1597. "And now, Sir, lett me be free with you in writting other men's reports, and that of the wisest politicians. They say, our bygane historeis report, and experience teacheth, that *raro et fere nunquam* has a king and a prince continued long together in this realme; for *Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos*. And they say, Sir, farther, that whatsoever they were of your Majestie's predecessors in governement that oppouned themselves directlie or indirectlie to God's ordinance in his Kirk, it has beene their wracke and subversioun in the end. I might herein be more particular; but I leave it to your Majestie's owne grave and modest consideratioun, for it concerneth you most neere."

[169] "Saying, 'He perverted the laws both of God and man.'" *Spottiswoode's*

son likened him to Cain, and warned him to beware of the wrath of God.[170] Indeed, the spirit now displayed by the Church was so implacable, that it seemed to delight in venting itself in the most repulsive manner. In 1585, a clergyman, named Gibson, in a sermon which he preached in Edinburgh, denounced against the king the curse of Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and that his race should end with him.[171] The year after this happened, James, finding that Elizabeth was evidently determined to take his mother's life, bethought him of what was valued in that age as an unfailing resource, and desired the clergy to offer up prayers on behalf of Mary. This, they almost unanimously refused.[172] And not only did they abstain from supplication themselves, but they resolved that no one else should do what they had declined. The archbishop of Saint Andrews being about to officiate before the king, they induced a certain John Cowper to station himself in the pulpit beforehand, so as to exclude the prelate. Nor was it until the captain of the guard threatened to pull Cowper from the place he had usurped, that the service could go on, and the king be allowed to hear his own mother prayed for, in this sad crisis of her fate, when it was still uncertain whether she would be publicly executed, or whether, as was more generally believed, she would be secretly poisoned.[173]

History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 309. Also *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 371.

[170] "Mr. Patrick Simson, preaching before the king upon Gen. iv. 9, 'The Lord said to Cain, Where is Abel, thy brother?' said to the king, before the congregation, 'Sir, I assure you, in God's name, the Lord will ask at you where is the Earl of Moray your brother?' The king replyed, before all the congregation, 'Mr. Patrik, my chalmer doore wes never steeked upon you: ye might have told me anything ye thought in secret.' He replyed, 'Sir, the scandall is publict.'" *Row's History of the Kirk*, p. 144. "Having occasion, *anno* 1593, to preach before the king, he publicly exhorted him to beware that he drew not the wrath of God upon himself in patronizing a manifest breach of divine laws." *Howie's Biographia Scoticana*, p. 120.

[171] "Saying, 'That Captain James, with his lady Jesabel, and William Stewart (meaning the colonel), were taken to be the persecutors of the Church; but that now it was seen to be the king himself, against whom he denounced the curse that fell on Jeroboam—that he would die childless, and be the last of his race." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 335.

[172] "The king, perceiving by all these letters, that the death of his mother was determined, called back his ambassadors, and at home gave order to the ministers to remember her in their public prayers, which they denied to do." . . . "Upon their denial, charges were directed to command all bishops, ministers, and other office-bearers in the Church to make mention of her distress in their public prayers, and commend her to God in the form appointed. But of all the number only Mr. David Lindsay at Leith and the king's own ministers gave obedience." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church*, vol. ii. pp. 355, 356. "They, with only one exception, refused to comply." *Russell's History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 23. Compare *Watson's Historicall Collections of Ecclesiastick Affairs in Scotland*, p. 208; and *Historie of James the Sext*, p. 225.

[173] "They stirred up Mr. John Cowper, a young man not entered as yet in the

In 1594, John Ross stated in the pulpit, that the advisers of the king were all traitors, and that the king himself was likewise a traitor. He was also a rebel and a reprobate. That such should be the case, was not surprising, considering the parentage of James. For, his mother was a Guise, and a persecutor of the saints. He avoided open persecution, and spoke them fair; but his deeds did not correspond to his words; and, so great was his dissimulation, that he was the most arrant hypocrite then living in Scotland.[174]

In 1596, David Black, one of the most influential of the Protestant ministers, delivered a sermon, which made much noise. He said, in his discourse, that all kings were children of the devil; but that in Scotland the head of the court was Satan himself. The members of the council, he added, were cormorants, and the lords of the session miscreants. The nobility had degenerated; they were godless; they were dissemblers; they were the enemies of the Church. As to the queen of England, she was nothing but an atheist. And as to the queen of Scotland, all he would say was, that they might pray for her

function, to take the pulpit before the time, and exclude the bishop. The king coming at the hour appointed, and seeing him in the place, called to him from his seat, and said, 'Mr. John, that place is destined for another; yet since you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my mother in your prayers, you shall go on.' He replying, 'that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him,' was commanded to leave the place: and making as though he would stay, the captain of the guard went to pull him out; whereupon he burst forth in these speeches: 'This day shall be a witness against the king to the great day of the Lord:' and then denouncing a wo to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, he went down, and the bishop of St. Andrews entering the pulpit did perform the duty required." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 356. "The Kingis Majestie, to testefie his earnest and naturall affection to his mother, causit pray for hir oppinly efter him selff; quhairvpone arrose a great dissensioun betuix sum of the ministrie and his Majestie, namely the ministrie of Edinburgh. Quhairvpone the king appoynted Patrik, archbishop of St. Androis to teache, bot he wes preuented be Mr. John Covpar minister, quho come befoir and filled the pulpit. And as the said Mr. John wes beginnand the prayer, the Kingis Majestie commandit him to stay: so as Mr. John raschit michtely vpone the pulpit, saying, "This day sall bear witnes aganis yow in the day of the Lord; woe be to ye Edinburgh, for the last of xi plaiges salbe the worst." *Moysie's Memoirs*, p. 59.

[174] See *The Historie of King James the Sext*, pp. 316-318, from "a just copie of his sermon" supplied by Ross himself. "His text was upon the 6 chapter of the Prophet Jeremias, verse 28. 'Brethren, we have manie, and almaist innumerable enormiteis in this cuntrie to be lamentit, as the misgovernement of our king be sinistrous counsall of sum particular men. They ar all rebellious traitors, evin the king the maist singular person, and particularlie everie estait of the land.' . . . . 'Our king in sindrie poyntis hes bene rebellious aganis the Majestie of God.' . . . . 'To this howre, we gat never gude of the Guysien blude, for Queyne Marie his mother was an oppin persecutor of the sanctis of God, and althoght the king be not an oppin persecutor, we have had many of his fayre wordis, wharein he is myghtie aneugh, bot for his gude deiddis, I commend me to thayme.' . . . . 'Admit, that our king be a Christien king, yit but amen dement, he is a reprobat king. Of all the men in this nation, the king himself is the maist fynest, and maist dissembling hypocreit.'" A very short notice of this sermon is given by Calderwood (*History of the Kirk*, vol. v. p. 299), who probably had not seen the original notes.

if they list, and because it was the fashion to do so; but that there was no reason for it, inasmuch as no good would ever come from her to them.[175]

For preaching this sermon, Black was summoned by the Privy Council. He refused to attend, because it was for a spiritual tribunal, and not for a temporal one, to take notice of what was uttered in the pulpit. The Church, to be sure, he would obey; but having received his message from God, he was bound to deliver it, and it would be a dereliction of duty, if he were to allow the civil power to judge such matters.[176] The king, greatly enraged, ordered Black to be cast into prison; and it is difficult to see what other course was open to him; though it was certain that neither this, nor any measure he could adopt, would tame the indomitable spirit of the Scotch Church.[177]

In December the same year, the Church proclaimed a fast; and Welsh preached in Edinburgh a sermon, with the view of rousing the people against their rulers. The king, he told his

[175] The accusation, which was fully proved, was, that "he had publictlie sayd in pulpit, that the papist erles wes come home be the kingis knavledge and consent, quhairin his Hienes treacherie wes detectit; that all kingis war deuilis and come of deuilis; that the deuill wes the head of the court and in the court; that he prayit for the Queine of Scotland for the faschione, because he saw na appearance of guid in hir tyme." *Moysie's Memoirs*, p. 128. "Having been heard to affirm, that the popish lords had returned into the country by the king's permission, and that thereby the king had discovered the 'treacherous hypocrisy of his heart;' that 'all kings were the devil's bairns, and that the devil was in the court, and the guiders of it.' He was proved to have used in his prayer these indecent words, when speaking of the queen, 'We must pray for her for fashion's sake; but we might as well not, for she will never do us any good.' He called the Queen of England an atheist, and the Lords of Session *bribers;* and said that the nobility at large 'were degenerate, godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church.'" *Grierson's History of Saint Andrews*, p. 30, Cupar, 1838. Among the charges against him were, "Fourthly, that he had called the queen of England an atheist. Fifthly, that he had discussed a suspension granted by the lords of session in pulpit, and called them miscreants and bribers. Sixthly, that, speaking of the nobility, he said they were 'degenerated, godless, dissemblers, and enemies to the church.' Likewise, speaking of the council, that he had called them 'holiglasses, cormorants, and men of no religion.'" *Spottiswoode's History of the Church*, vol. iii. p. 21.

[176] See the original papers on "The Declinatour of the King and Counsel's Judicatour in Maters Spirituall, namelie in Preaching of the Word," in *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. pp. 457-459, 475-480. Tytler (*History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 326-332) has given extracts from them, and made some remarks on their obvious tendency. See also, on the Declinature of Jurisdiction claimed by the Scotch Church, *Hallam's Constitutional History*, 4th edit. 1842, vol. ii. p. 461; and *Mackenzie's Laws and Customs of Scotland in Matters Criminal*, Edinburgh, 1699, folio, pp. 181, 182.

[177] M'Crie, in his *Life of Melville*, vol. ii. pp. 70 seq., has given an account of the punishment of Black, but, as usual, conceals the provocation; or, at least, softens it down until it hardly becomes a provocation. According to him, "David Black had been served with a summons to answer before the privy council for certain expressions used by him in his sermons." Certain expressions, indeed! But why name the penalty, and suppress the offence? This learned writer knew perfectly well what Black had done, and yet all the information bestowed on the reader is a note at p. 72, containing a mutilated extract from Spottiswoode.

audience, had formerly been possessed by a devil, and that devil being put out, seven worse ones had come in its place. It was, therefore, evident that James was demented, and it became lawful to take the sword of justice from his hands; just as it would be lawful for servants or children to seize the head of their family, if it had pleased heaven to afflict him with madness. In such case, the preacher observed, it would be right to lay hold of the madman, and to tie him hand and foot, that he might do no further harm.[178]

The hatred felt by the clergy was at this period so bitter, and the democratic spirit in them so strong,[179] that they seemed unable to restrain themselves; and Andrew Melville, in an audience with the king, in 1596, proceeded to personal insults. and, seizing him by the sleeve, called him God's silly vassal.[180] The large amount of truth contained in this bitter taunt, increased its pungency. But the ministers did not always confine themselves to words.[181] Their participation in the Ruthven conspiracy is unquestionable; and it is probable that they were privy to the last great peril to which James was exposed, before he escaped from that turbulent land, which he was believed to govern. Certain it is, that the Earl of Gowrie, who in 1600, entrapped the king into his castle in order to murder him, was the hope and the mainstay of the Presbyterian clergy, and was

[178] "Saying, 'He was possessed with a devil; that one devil being put out, seven worse were entered in place; and that the subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand:' which he confirmed by the example of a father that falling into a frensy, might be taken by the children and servants of the family, and tied hand and foot from doing violence." *Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 34. See also *Arnot's History of Edinburgh*, pp. 46, 47.

[179] This did not escape the attention of the English government; and Elizabeth, who was remarkably well informed respecting Scotch affairs, wrote to James, in 1590, a warning, which was hardly necessary, but which must have added to his fears. "And lest fayre semblance, that easely may begile, do not brede your ignorance of suche persons as ether pretend religion or dissemble deuotion, let me warne you that ther is risen, bothe in your realme and myne, a secte of perilous consequence, suche as wold have no kings but a presbitrye, and take our place while the inioy our privilege, with a shade of Godes word, wiche non is juged to folow right without by ther censure the be so demed. Yea, looke we wel unto them." *Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.*, edited by John Bruce, Camden Society, 1849, 4to, p. 63.

[180] The Reverend James Melville, who was present at the scene, describes it with exuberant delight. "To the quhilk, I beginning to reply, in my maner, Mr. Andro doucht nocht abyd it, bot brak af upon the king in sa zealus, powerfull, and unresistable a maner, that whowbeit the king used his authoritie in maist crabbit and colerik maner, yit Mr. Andro bure him down, and outtered the Commission as from the mightie God, calling the king bot 'God's sillie vassall; and taking him be the sleive," &c. *Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill*, p. 370. See also *Shield's Hind let loose*, 1687, p. 52; and *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. ii. p. 66.

[181] In 1593, 4, some of them formed a plot to seize him. See the evidence from the State-paper Office, in *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 249, edit. Edinburgh, 1845.

intimately associated with their ambitious schemes.[182] Such, indeed, was their infatuation on behalf of the assassin, that, when his conspiracy was defeated, and he himself slain, several of the ministers propagated a report that Gowrie had fallen a victim to the royal perfidy, and that, in point of fact, the only plot which ever existed was one concocted by the king, with fatal art, against his mild and innocent host.[183]

An absurdity of this sort[184] was easily believed in an ignorant and, therefore, a credulous age. That the clergy should have propagated it, and that in this, as in many other cases, they should have laboured with malignant industry to defame the character of their prince,[185] will astonish no one, who knows how quickly the wrath of the Church can be roused, and how ready the spiritual classes always are to cover, even with the foulest calumny, those who stand in their way. The evidence which has been collected, proves that the Presbyterian ministers carried their violence against the constituted authorities of the state, to an indecent, if not to a criminal, length; and we cannot absolve them from the charge of being a restless and unscrupulous body, greedy after power, and grossly intolerant of whatever opposed their own views. Still, the real cause of their conduct was, the spirit of their age, and the peculiarities of their position. None of us can be sure that, if we were placed exactly as they were placed, we should have acted differently. Now, indeed, we cannot read of their proceedings, as they are recorded in their own Assemblies, and by the historians of their own Church, without an uneasy feeling of dislike, I had almost said of disgust, at finding ourselves in presence of so much of superstition, of chicanery, of low, sordid arts, and yet, withal, of arrogant and unbridled insolence. The truth, however, is, that in Scotland, the age was evil, and the evil rose to the surface. The times were out of joint, and it was hard to set them right. The long prevalence of anarchy, of ignorance, of poverty, of force, of fraud, of domestic tumult, and of foreign inva-

[182] "He was the darling hope of the Presbyterian party." *Ibid.*, vol. vii. p. 410.

[183] "Gowry's conspiracy was by them charged on the king, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that earl." *Burnet's History of his own Time*, edit. Oxford, 1823, vol. i. p. 31. See also *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 439, 440; and on the diffusion of "this absurd hallucination," see *The Spottiswoode Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 320, Edinburgh, 1845.

[184] See a good note in *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 179, Edinburgh, 1833, 4to. Compare *Lawson's Book of Perth*, Edinburgh, 1847, p. xxxix.

[185] Their language, and their general bearing, so enraged James, as to extort from him a passionate declaration, in 1592, that "it would not be weill till noblemen and gentlemen gott licence to breake ministers' heads." *Calderwood's History of the Kirk*, vol. v. p. 148.

sion, had reduced Scotland to a state which it is scarcely possible for us to realize. Hereafter, I shall give some evidence of the effect which this produced on the national character, and of the serious mischief which it wrought. In the mean time, we should, in fairness to the Scotch clergy, admit that the condition of their country affords the best explanation of their conduct. Every thing around them was low and coarse; the habits of men, in their daily life, were violent, brutal, and utterly regardless of common decency; and, as a natural consequence, the standard of human actions was so depressed, that upright and well-meaning persons did not shrink from doing what to us, in our advanced state of society, seems incredible. Let us, then, not be too rash in this matter. Let us not be too forward in censuring the leading actors in that great crisis through which Scotland passed, during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Much they did, which excites our strongest aversion. But one thing they achieved, which should make us honour their memory, and repute them benefactors of their species. At a most hazardous moment, they kept alive the spirit of national liberty.[186] What the nobles and the crown had put in peril, that did the clergy save. By their care, the dying spark was kindled into a blaze. When the light grew dim, and flickered on the altar, their hands trimmed the lamp, and fed the sacred flame. This is their real glory, and on this they may well repose. They were the guardians of Scotch freedom, and they stood to their post. Where danger was, they were foremost. By their sermons, by their conduct, both public and private, by the proceedings of their Assemblies, by their bold and frequent attacks upon persons, without regard to their rank, nay, even by the very insolence with which they treated their superiors, they stirred up the minds of men, woke them from their lethargy, formed them to habits of discussion, and excited that inquisitive and democratic spirit, which is the only effectual guarantee the people can ever possess against the tyranny of those who are set over them. This was the work of the Scotch clergy;

[186] "At the period of which we speak" (about the year 1584) "the pulpit was, in fact, the only organ by which public opinion was, or could be, expressed; and the ecclesiastical courts were the only assemblies in the nation which possessed any thing that was entitled to the name of liberty or independence. Parliament had its business prepared to its hand, and laid before it in the shape of acts which required only its assent. Discussion and freedom of speech were unknown in its meetings. The courts of justice were dependent on the will of the sovereign, and frequently had their proceedings regulated, and their decisions dictated, by letters or messages from the throne. It was the preachers who first taught the people to express an opinion on the conduct of their rulers; and the assemblies of the Church set the earliest example of a regular and firm opposition to the arbitrary and unconstitutional measures of the Court." *M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. p. 302.

and all hail to them who did it. It was they who taught their countrymen to scrutinize, with a fearless eye, the policy of their rulers. It was they who pointed the finger of scorn at kings and nobles, and laid bare the hollowness of their pretensions. They ridiculed their claims, and jeered at their mysteries. They tore the veil, and exposed the tricks of the scene which lay behind. The great ones of the earth, they covered with contempt; and those who were above them, they cast down. Herein, they did a deed which should compensate for all their offences, even were their offences ten times as great. By discountenancing that pernicious and degrading respect which men are too apt to pay to those whom accident, and not merit, has raised above them, they facilitated the growth of a proud and sturdy independence, which was sure to do good service at a time of need. And that time came quicker than any one had expected. Within a very few years, James became master of the resources of England, and attempted, by their aid, to subvert the liberties of Scotland. The shameful enterprise, which he began, was continued by his cruel and superstitious son. How their attempts failed; how Charles I., in the effort, shipwrecked his fortune, and provoked a rebellion, which brought to the scaffold that great criminal, who dared to conspire against the people, and who, as the common enemy and oppressor of all, was at length visited with the just punishment of his sins, is known to every reader of our history. It is also well known, that, in conducting the struggle, the English were greatly indebted to the Scotch, who had, moreover, the merit of being the first to lift their hand against the tyrant. What, however, is less known, but is undoubtedly true, is, that both nations owe a debt they can never repay to those bold men, who, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, disseminated, from their pulpits and Assemblies, sentiments which the people cherished in their hearts, and which, at a fitting moment, they reproduced, to the dismay, and eventually to the destruction, of those who threatened their liberties.